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The National Monthly

Alias Dr. Anderson

Expose of a Labor Spy

Company or Union--
Group Insurance?

What of the Metal Trades?

Company Unionism's Upsets

Another
General Strike

Tell It To
The Newspapers

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
COMPANY UNIONISM'S UPSETS <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	1
COMPANY OR UNION—GROUP INSURANCE <i>Herman Frank and Charles P. Ford</i>	4
BROOKWOOD'S PAGES <i>Arthur W. Calhoun</i>	9
WHAT OF THE METAL TRADES? <i>E. J. Lever</i>	11
ALIAS DR. ANDERSON (LABOR SPY) <i>Robert W. Dunn</i>	15
ANOTHER GENERAL STRIKE? <i>Patrick L. Quinlan</i>	18
CONCERNING "SOCIOLOGY" <i>Theodore Schroeder</i>	20
LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING.....	23

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Company Unionism's Upsets

Growing Restlessness—the I. R. T.

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ



CRIME WAVES

Hedley and his pal, "Quack", can defraud the workers of their wages—and attempt to rob their children, through fake suits. And their criminality is praised in the New York press!

HE is a confiding workman indeed who puts his trust in Company Unionism.

This narrative is written as evidence thereof. No colors are added. The story is allowed, largely, to tell itself.

Our concern today is with the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. of Greater New York. The public eye has been cast upon it of late by reason of the disturbances among its erstwhile faithful employees. At least 750 of its motormen and switchmen struck in the early part of July, celebrating their idea of American independence in that fashion. They were the members of the so-called Local 7 of the so-called Interborough Rapid Transit Company Brotherhood. They were the "reliable" men, the "necessary" men, of whom President Frank Hedley pointed with pride in the Amalgamated Association strike of 1916.

"If the motormen and switchmen stick," quoth Hedley at that time, "all is well for the Interborough. I can go out to the Bronx Zoo and get monkeys to act as guards."

As to who were the monkeys in the long run, this plot will unfold. That word "Brotherhood" has a pretty

sound. We know of a number of Brotherhoods which are winning decent conditions for their memberships and which have further workers' progress as their goal. They are real unions. But this Brotherhood? It was a base counterfeit—a seat of Yellow Dogdom—a bastard child conceived by the company, born of the company, and nurtured by the company. Its very name was a give-away: "I. R. T. Brotherhood".

Edward P. Lavin, who had been a delegate under this company union plan, and who led the revolt of the motormen, put the case simply and directly, in an exclusive statement to *LABOR AGE*, on July 13:

"The I. R. T. Brotherhood was organized in 1916, to offset the Amalgamated Association. This Brotherhood pulled a strike in 1918, which has left a decided doubt in the minds of all honest men who went out at that time, as to whether it was an honest move, or whether it was a cooperative move on the part of the company officials and the Brotherhood officials, to force a higher rate of fare. There was a big effort on then to get such an increased fare.

"From that time, right up to the present, the Brother-

LABOR AGE

hood was used as a club to keep the men in line. The delegates did manage to bulldoze the men when the men wanted more money or better conditions. They were always talked out of it; and if any one group voted for more money, they were outvoted by the General Committee, all loyal to the company. The motormen, sick of this procedure, have broken away and started a new organization, known as the Consolidated Railroad Workers of Greater New York. To this union, all departments of the I. R. T. Co. are invited to join. To date new men have come in to the number of 1,600. Our intention is to bust the Brotherhood."

The name, of course, of this company union had been hit upon as a serviceable tool to deceive the public. When the men went out this last month, Mr. Hedley and his attorney, Mr. Quackenbush (one grown old in corporation duplicity and chicanery), set up a chant of "outlaws" against the strikers. The idea was to get out the impression that these were men breaking with a real union—a real "Brotherhood". How real it was, we shall presently see.

Mr. Hedley added a rather childish note that exposed the camouflage of the "Brotherhood", when he said that the rank and file of that organization were not to be consulted on wage contracts, after the General Committee had acted. As out at Bayonne, the net result of the "union" was simply that the members of the said General Committee got a good time occasionally at the expense of the Brotherhood's members—"a joy ride", as a former member of that committee told me, "or something of that sort."

Of course, this well-laid plot to blur the issue by adopting the names and structure, to a degree, of regular unions is not confined to the I. R. T., by any means. Although many of the company unions distinguish themselves from the genuine organizations by name or method of division, some of them—such as the Associated Organization of Shop Craft Employees on the Great Northern—mimic the legitimate unions in their form: having lodges, traveling business agents and other paraphernalia of unionism. Needless to say, it is as much a mere outward show in this case as in any other.

Mr. Dooley has quoted "Father Kelly" to the effect that "a healthy person ought to be ashamed to ask for help in a fight." A healthy union—a real union—has no business to rely on anything or anybody but itself. How different, the "Brotherhood"! Not only was it handed out to the employees by the company, "locals" and all, but it was so kind as to fasten on these employees that badge of slavery—the "yellow dog" contract. Most union men know what that is: few of them have felt its sting. Well, here is the I. R. T. "yellow dog", printed in part in the NEW YORK WORLD of July 14:

"In conformity with the policy of the Brotherhood and consented to by the Company, I expressly agree that I will remain a member of the Brotherhood during the time I am employed by the Company and am eligible to membership therein; that I am not and will not become identified in any manner with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, or with any other association of street railway or other

employees, with the exception of this Brotherhood, and the Voluntary Relief Department of the Company while a member of the Brotherhood or in the employ of the Company—and that a violation of this agreement or the interference with any member of the Brotherhood in the discharge of his duties or disturbing him in any manner for the purpose of breaking up or interfering with the Brotherhood, shall of itself constitute cause for dismissal from the employ of the Company."

Shades of the much-advertised "Open Shop"! Here we see it, fully revealed. An "Open Shop" is a shop closed to union men. And on the basis of this contract, the Interborough instituted a suit against the men, for the \$239,000 that the company admits has been lost up to July 12th, by reason of the strike! The entire amount of the wage increase asked by the men only came to a total of \$350,000 per year. And yet, the company in its autocratic stubbornness, has thrown away \$239,000 in lost patronage. Not to mention the "scabs", who have been herded into New York from Chicago, Philadelphia and other parts—and who receive the wages the men asked for, plus meals and board!

The suit, of course, was a meaningless gesture, intended to frighten the men. As Samuel Untermyer promptly labeled it. But the fact is, that the company is attempting to bleed its workers to make up for its own bad business methods—not only in this case, but in its general policy. One cause for such financial difficulties as the Interborough claims it is in, is the 999 year Manhattan Elevated contract. This contract keeps the company bloodless, in order to pay 5 per cent to the stockholders of the useless Elevated. The company has long been scheming and maneuvering for a higher fare, in face of the fact that it is earning money off some \$300,000,000 invested by the city in the subways, and for which the city gets not a cent! And yet the city allows green motormen to run the subways and injure some 16 persons, all of whom will have financial claims against the company. Never was there a more shameful example of corporate control of municipal officials.

To make up for its imbecile management, the Interborough pays its motormen the magnificent sum of \$32.48 a week for the first year's service, and \$45.92 after six years. Switchmen get \$32.48 the first year, and \$34.16 in the third. All are compelled to work 7 days a week. The runs of the motormen are practically never consecutive, lay-offs for from 15 minutes to an hour being part of the day. So that in many instances, they are actually around the terminals and on the system three or four hours more than they are paid for. If a man dared to raise questions about these things in the "Brotherhood", he was called to the office and cautioned not to be so radical. Delegates, for the same reason, dared not express the men's grievances. Men who did not join the Brotherhood promptly were hounded by the company and forced to join—"I thought it a funny union," said one man, "when the company would call you down and tell you, you must join or get out. I knew that in a real union, it would most likely be the other way around."

With this slavery prevailing, what are we to think of the NEW YORK TIMES of July 5—quoted here as a sample of "Company Union" propaganda in the daily press?

TELL IT TO THE NEWSPAPERS!

Our Case Not Being Well Presented

IN these distracted times, Labor has a vital message to deliver. It can scatter to the four winds those shadow-hypocrisies of the Employers, parading before us as "Industrial Democracy". It can smash them into bits with its own "Industrial Democracy" of workers group control of industry.

We cannot do this thing by merely wishing for it. We cannot do it by consorting with the Employers, and swallowing their propaganda. We cannot do it by a defensive attitude, letting our enemies set the pace. We must aggressively stand up and be counted. We must set forth our program, with all the facts that we have to draw from, but which we use but little.

During the month of June, **LABOR AGE** made a hasty study of some 200 newspapers. In about 50 instances we followed them day by day. The thing was carried out in a cursory way, but enough was learned to show that Labor is NOT hammering home its side of the industrial dispute. Of the editorials read, 262 were direct attacks upon Organized Labor; only 93 were in any way friendly, and in most cases these were qualified. In regard to matters in which Labor is directly interested—child labor, public ownership of water power, etc.—1,087 were strongly opposed and 483 were favorable. Of still more general topics—peace, militarism, dictatorship, etc.—1,264 were anti-Labor and 494 were favorable.

With all this deluge of editorial opinion, we noted but THREE letters that bore marks of coming

from labor men and but TWELVE in all directly friendly to Labor or Labor's ideas. That indicates that local labor men must wake up to the value of using the daily press as an avenue for stating their case. "Tell it to the newspapers!"

We plan shortly to make a more careful study of these matters, particularly in regard to the **MAKING OF NEWS**.

Every central body, at least, might get busy on these points of activity:

1. Appoint a publicity representative, whose business it will be to study publicity methods, check up on local papers in a friendly way and keep in touch with the newspaper men.

2. Use the facts prepared for this specific purpose by **LABOR AGE**, in refuting the errors of fact and opinion contained in the local press.

3. Make a special study of the art of making news, which the Employing Interests understand so well. If public attention cannot be drawn in any other way to the defects of the "Open Shop" or "Company Unionism" in your midst, make the public see it through picketing demonstrations accompanied by statements of the facts, etc., etc.

LABOR AGE will be glad to help you in this effort. For that purpose we have established a special Bureau—the American Bureau for Industrial Freedom. Its job will be to cooperate in exposing the facts about Company Unionism, the principles of Labor Unionism, and the education of the unorganized—in a dramatic way.

Such lying as that contained in the following editorial would seem to be impossible:

"One disastrous consequence of the strike, if it came, would be to break up the system of what may be called *self-government in subway transportation*. For some years the Interborough Company and the Brotherhood of its workers *have shared in managing the industry*. The method is coming into favor with many other industries. It is parallel with the plan for settling disputes between the railroads and their employees embodied in the bill which Congress enacted with the approval of both sides. Here in New York the Interborough has entered into contractual relations with the Brotherhood. Between them there has been the *fullest and frankest discussion of all points at issue*." (Italics mine.)

The inaccuracy of these statements was called to the attention of this employers' organ, disguised as a newspaper, by myself—giving the facts and figures on the matter. Yet, does it continue its scab tactics—in which it is emulated by most of the metropolitan papers. We call this to the attention of Liberal economists and litterateurs, who may be asked to write for the **TIMES**, in the future. Contributing to its columns for pay is the same as contributing to any anti-union organ. It is very near to treason to the workers.

The strike closes even as this is written. It is un-

fortunate that the men could not join hands with the Amalgamated Association. It would have made the issue that much clearer. These sporadic outbursts of revolt against Company Unionism will increase. How the union workers can make the best of this unrest, will be discussed in our next and subsequent issues. It is sufficient here, to show the hypocrisy of Company Unionism, as brought to light on the I. R. T., the fear existing under it, the discontent of the men.

Little wonder for that discontent! When Mr. Cyrus McCormick, Jr., in the June **FACTORY** magazine can show everything that Employee-Representation (Company Unionism) has accomplished in the International Harvester Co. except higher wages and real manhood, then we can understand why men with brains in their heads and freedom in their souls will throw off their yoke at the first opportunity. As Will Herford puts it:

Sing a song of "Welfare",
Forty 'leven kinds,
Elevate your morals
Cultivate your minds,
Kindergartens, nurses,
Bathtubs, books and flowers,
Anything but better pay
Or shorter working hours.

Company or Union-Group Insurance?

THE SITUATION

FROM a host of quotations at hand, we choose two—to throw light on what Company Group Insurance portends for the Labor Movement. In the MAGAZINE OF WALL STREET (July 17th issue), Florence P. Clarendon writes: "The usual plan employed for the Group Policy is insurance from year to year, known as One Year Renewable Term. The group must be composed of fifty or more employees under a common employer, and as a rule the Group Policy covers all employees who have been in service for not less than six months or a year. . . . The installation of group insurance by employers is becoming increasingly popular. Recently one of the largest rubber corporations in the world . . . adopted group insurance on the contributory plan for its salaried employees. This group comprises over 9,000 lives, and the present coverage will involve from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 of insurance."

In the July CURRENT HISTORY, Mr. Abraham Epstein points to group insurance as one of the power-

ful weapons of the employers against the unions, and adds: "Only 15 years ago group life insurance . . . was unknown. The first of such policies was not written until 1911. In 1912 the total amount of all insurance written under these policies amounted to \$13,172,198. . . . At the end of 1924, 61 insurance companies had written \$3,264,38,213 of group insurance, nearly doubling in two years the amount issued in the first eleven years."

These things are noticeable about this business:
1. The one-year policy is a firm grip on the worker;
2. The provision for covering only those workers under one employer makes this grip one of iron; and
3. The employers have found it so valuable that they think it worth while to spend large sums of money for it.

What should Labor do about this? The subject is carefully discussed by Dr. Frank and Brother Ford of the Electrical Workers—and we will secure other comments on it, as time goes on.

Camouflaged Life Insurance

By HERMAN FRANK

GROUP life insurance was the invention of a large scale employer. He approached one of our greatest insurance companies just at a time when the latter had under consideration the writing of this line of business. Its value in regard to cost lay in the possibility of stabilizing and strengthening the relation between the manufacturer and his force. By reaching the home life and the families of the men, the employers believed they had found an economic measure against the restlessness of what they had called "migratory labor". Excessive labor turnover means loss of production and in the wake of it increased overhead, which often means the difference between a profitable and a losing enterprise. Thus a group of employes in a certain leather company were covered by life, health and accident insurance at the cost of the business and without charge to the men.

Since its inception, about 15 years ago, the growth of group life insurance has been steady. A temporary setback, due to the general depression in industry, is observable during 1921. Rapid increase was resumed, however, in 1922 and kept on continuously. But with the renewed interest in group insurance there has come about a marked change in the method of transacting it. Prior to 1921 most of the business was written on the non-contributory plan, that is, the employer paid all the cost of insurance. Of the business being written in

recent times, a large portion is on the contributory plan. That means that the employer and the men pay the premium jointly. This essential change, in turn, influenced the development in many and important respects.

Insurance Laws Help Employers

Under the insurance laws of New York and other states, the employer must pay all or part of the premium of a group policy. If the employer pays only part of the premium, then 75 per cent of his employes in the classes insured must be included under the policy. Now, since under the contributory plan not all of the employes are insured, a higher rate of mortality is likely to be experienced under the non-contributory plan as compared to the rate resulting from the former plan. Those among the workers who would refuse group insurance more often than not would be the better risks. Out of this consideration, the commercial insurance companies are inclined to discard the contributory plan root and branch, while its alternative is being regarded by them as both sound and economical. A few years ago, Mr. W. A. Day, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, which was the pioneer in this field, in an address before a committee on Social Insurance in Washington thus stated his attitude towards the fundamental difference between the two plans: "Group life

insurance has been found to work best only as it is operated on an inclusive basis: to include all employed, or all those in the class for whose benefit insurance is desired. Any attempt to leave the choice with the employe whether he should secure this protection or not, defeats in some degree at least the object of the insurance in its attempt to be universal throughout one group. For this reason it has not been found satisfactory to have the employes pay for the insurance either in whole or part.

"Any proposal for payment from the employes entails the refusal of the insurance by some employes, which destroys in the first place the universality of the protection, and in the second place impairs the averages requisite in an insurance protection, because those who would stay out would be, as a rule, the stronger lives not feeling the immediate need of the insurance." The deeper meaning of this statement is the conclusion that group life insurance, as it is practised by the large scale employer, is in its very nature paternalistic, a mere contrivance to benefit the employer by reducing his labor turnover and tying the employe to his employment.

The Employer Wins

The first result that follows from this nature of the capitalistic group life insurance plan is that such protection is not a substitute for individual insurance. It is meant to provide some insurance to those not otherwise protected by it, but actually it serves mainly the interests of the employer. This distinctive mark of the plan accounts for the rather unusual circumstance that the policies issued are as a matter of fact not policies at all. They are one year term certificates, renewable at the end of each year for the ensuing year by the payment of the premium for that year. Premium rates will depend on the ages and occupations of the individual employes. The total premium payable by the employer is the sum of the premiums for the insurance of the individual employes. Consequently, the individual premiums, being based on attained ages, increase from year to year. Under "normal conditions," however, the total premium is not likely to vary greatly, because the changes constantly occurring in the composition of the group tend to keep the average age, and consequently the average premium, about the same. The companies usually reserve the right, at the end of each five year period, to change the rates upon the basis on which subsequent renewals may be effected. These rules, set forth in an outline of the group insurance plan issued by one of the large private insurance companies, provide an explanation to the idea involved in group life insurance as it is seen by Big Business, both as employers and underwriters of life insurance.

Needless to say, this camouflaged life insurance is the cheapest form of insurance protection. The group plan can be held out to firms by the life insurance companies at greatly reduced rates, since it does away with medical examination and much of the usual expense in-

cidental to the selling of life insurance. In order to secure a satisfactory rate from the insurance company, the employer must offer conditions of employment which measure up to a certain standard. The occupations must not be extra-hazardous, sanitary conditions must be generally good, and good drinking water must be supplied. These prerequisites do not offer obstacles in the case of most firms, since the employers most likely to introduce such a plan are those who have already progressed far towards safeguarding the plants and providing good working conditions. It is evident, too, that the elimination of medical examinations is made possible through the physical examination on entrance, which many companies require, and through the work of the emergency hospital departments in caring for the health of employes. This latter service results in lowering the number with serious diseases and maintaining the general health of the force at a high standard. All in all, a single blanket policy covers an entire group of carefully selected people and for a limited time only. No wonder, one of the first adherents of the new scheme, the Packard Cleveland Motor Company, upon an inquiry by a student of the subject, declared that the plan had proved worth while and worth continuing. "It resulted in stabilizing labor, attracting and retaining employes of the better grade all the way through the organization, etc., it will repay us for the outlay, which, by the way, is surprisingly low." This generalization is as comprehensive as it is concise.

Collective Bargaining Injured

The disadvantages of the group insurance plan, though perhaps not too obvious, are none the less bound in the long run to assert themselves in the minds of the workers. First, it takes away from the man all incentive of acting for himself either by insuring his own life or exercising thrift for the sake of family protection. Secondly, it compromises the independence of the worker by the loss of insurance in leaving his position. Thirdly, it necessarily must impair the power of collective bargaining. Fourthly, it is operative only for groups of 100 or more and generally fails to meet the contingencies of sickness and accident. And last—but not least—it entails the danger of causing the worker to feel that the premium comes out of his own wages, but does not serve ends which are altogether conducive to his own immediate wellbeing and independence. It can be presumed, therefore, that the recent trend to replace the non-contributory plan by the contributory has resulted from the growing apprehension and resentment on the part of the men and their desire to mitigate through some fifty-fifty scheme the effects of a revived paternalism in the shops. But, as has been shown, this patched-up plan, so far away from being welcome by either the insurance companies or the employers, crosses the underlying principles of group-life insurance and is doomed to a final failure. To the employers the non-contributory plan appeals as a method both of fostering "peaceful relations" and reducing labor turnover, since it alone offers the strongest kind of deterrent to the employe against severing connection with the company.

WELCOME, BAKERY WORKERS Good Cheer in Your Battle Against Wardism

Early in August the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers will hold its convention in the City of New York. We give this space to welcoming them, contrary to our custom, because of the dogged battle they have been waging against that Fountain Head of Quackery—the Ward Baking Co. The House of Ward is a house upon which the marks of degeneracy have already set themselves. In labor policies the same process is to be seen. No company union, even, is needed to tease their makers of "plaster paris" bread. Wages are cut and hours lengthened, in order to pander to the sporting and murdering instincts of the feudal family in control.

The number of the small group cases written in the last few years was unusually large. When the group life insurance was first proposed, this plan was considered something that especially fitted big organizations. In fact, there were practically no objections to the legal requirement of a minimum of 50 to 100 employes because no one felt that group insurance or any other form of life insurance was really needed in smaller businesses. Nowadays a large amount of it is being written for employers who can just qualify for it. A number of insurance companies have, therefore, supplied plans that are somewhat similar to group insurance. Until last year group insurance has not been sold to labor organizations but only to employers. The newly formed Union Labor Life Insurance Company, launched by the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, aims to sell group insurance on a large scale to labor unions. This enterprise has been started out of the conviction that there is a vital need for a social agency to provide substantial insurance benefits at as low a cost as can be proven safe. Such assumption is fully born out by the analysis of the camouflaged life insurance which, under the mantle of group coverage, has reached proportions that could hardly be dreamt of ten years ago.

The average of payments under group policies is now in the neighborhood of \$1000. This, of course, is not a sufficient amount of life insurance for any man with dependents to carry. It cannot be, on the other hand, a substantial addition to the individual insurance which all are encouraged to provide for themselves, as more than 35 per cent of wage earners have no insurance at all. There is, conservatively estimated, as many more who have less than \$500 of insurance available at time of death, while the average insurance for the remainder of the American wage earners does not exceed \$1000. Moreover, conditions have been found to be much the same among the highly skilled as among the lower grades of labor; each class living up to its full income and apparently not finding a place in their budget for a proper amount of life insurance. Any reduction in the tariff premium for an ordinary life insurance coverage is therefore tantamount to an increase in the average nominal value of the policies. Labor life insurance is virtually the only effective means to promote the welfare of the toiling masses through the instrumentality of insurance protection. The Union Labor Life Insurance Company will surely be able to offer to the American workers a chance to enjoy the advantages and benefits of life insurance to a larger extent than ever before.

American Woolen's Scheme

As to the real meaning of the group insurance plan in its application to the promotion of "harmonious relations" in industry, the following illustration is strikingly significant. On June 16, 1916, in a time of extraordinary prosperity, the American Woolen Company announced the inauguration of a group insurance plan under which every employe would receive absolutely free of cost to them, the company bearing the entire expense, a policy covering their lives of from \$750 to \$1,500, depending upon the length of service of the particular employe. The announcement puts special stress on the provision that under no circumstance does any employe pay even one penny of the cost of maintaining the policy on his or her life. "Any employe who happens to be absent on June 16, 1916, will be included in the plan outlined above upon his or her return to work, provided he or she is or has been prior to June 16, 1916, on the pay-roll of the mill in which he or she is employed. Persons entering our employ after June 16, 1916, will not be entitled to the above privileges until he or she has been for six months continuously on the pay-roll of the mill in which he or she is employed." Verily, it looks as if this stringent scheme had in advance been conceived as an effective measure to abate the opposition of the workers in an emergency. Last year, as is well known, the woolen magnates with their immense cut in wage standards certainly hoped to "cash in" the matured results of so far-sighted a "welfare" policy. By camouflaged life insurance thousands of workers were duped into the acceptance of a totally misleading system of family protection.

The group insurance carried on any employe terminates with the termination of his employment. If the employe has been insured for at least one year, he may convert his insurance into a policy on any of the company's regular plans without medical re-examination and at the then current rates of the company for such a policy. Clearly, the real and permanent advantage of a group life insurance policy, fully independent of the employer's grip upon the individual worker, arises only when the worker is both able and willing to continue his insurance after he has done with his ill-fated job. Any real progress in the life insurance of the workers is impossible unless it is provided by an organization of their own. Happily for the organized labor movement of America, such an insurance company, prompted as it is by the realization of the workers' common interests, is getting under way. Its timely appearance is an outcome of trade union vigilance and self-determination.

Unions' Answer to Group Insurance

By CHARLES FORD

WHEN we consider that group insurance began as recently as 1912, we are overwhelmed at the figures showing its rapid growth during its fourteen years of life. During the year 1925 about one billion dollars' worth was written, thus bringing the total amount to over four billions of dollars in force on January 1, 1926.

In repeating the amount in figures,—over \$4,000,000,000—it is as difficult to grasp the meaning as when stating the amount in words.

Taking as an example one branch of Organized Labor, namely the Building Trades, figures published for 1925 show a membership of 864,000 made up of seventeen different unions. Group life insurance written at the end of 1925, therefore, would provide \$1,000 benefit for five times as many people as are engaged in all the different organizations connected with the Building Trades.

In considering what the advantages of group life insurance are, we have two questions to answer—"Who pays the money?" and "What do they get for their money?" The customary form of group life insurance is taken out by the employer on the lives of his employees, and paid for by him; but in many instances the employee pays a proportion and the employer the balance of the premium.

In those cases of "free insurance" to the employees, what is the value the employer receives for his money?

Values to Employer

Theoretically the employer gets the intangible reward of having done a good deed. While virtue is supposed to be its own reward, the employer in this situation receives further benefits, also intangible, but more widespread than his own state of mind. Such as incidental advertising among his friends and competitors as an altruist and a guardian of his employees' interests, and this commendation is undoubtedly deserved.

From the practical point of view, the employer receives further rewards. For example, he saves the difference between the cost of the group life insurance on the employees and the wage increase to the employees which he is excused from making because of the fact of giving them this benefit. In many states also the employer takes this means of providing the Employer's Liability Compensation required by law, and thus protects himself on his liability instead of providing what might otherwise be a free gift to his employees.

The employer will also by this group life insurance plan save the overhead expense of a turn-over among employees, because this protection tends to bind the employee closer to the job, since by leaving the employment he would lose the insurance. The expense of a turn-over among employees adds very materially to the expense of doing business, particularly in a large organization, and any means of decreasing the turn-over increases by a corresponding amount the income of the

business. It is not necessary to consider here the various expenses incidental to turn-over, such as the time spent in teaching new employees their work, but it is safe to say that the life insurance salesman has all the arguments at his finger tips and uses them all in making his sale to the employer, who lends a willing ear.

The hard headed employer has therefore found that there is a sufficient return of value to the business to make group life insurance of great importance in the maintenance and up-building of his organization.

The Employee Loses

Turning to the other side of the proposition, we ask,—"What does the employee get, and does he lose anything?"

Any life insurance, whether it is free insurance provided by the employer, or regular individual insurance paid for by the policy-holder himself, provides a certain contentment of mind in the knowledge that his dependents are provided for to at least a limited extent if death or disability should overcome him. The value of that contentment of mind should never be discounted.

What the employee loses is theoretical in those cases where the employer pays the premium, but there is also the practical aspect of the situation, because presumably the insurance benefit is given the employee in place of a wage increase,—that is, the employer pays what the employee would otherwise pay for his insurance and thus obviates the necessity of giving him a wage increase. The paternal care of the employer is evidenced by this desire to control his employee by himself deciding what is good for the employee and then paying the employee's money for it. But should the employee receive a wage increase, would it ever be as small as the cost of his insurance under a group plan? You will readily see from this question that the answer would show that the employer saves money and the employee loses money by the group insurance plan, rather than by the wage increase.

While many employees resent paternal-minded employers in the same way that they resent paternalistic government, those with dependents are tied to their jobs and do not feel free to change, and a group life insurance plan which provides a benefit for these dependents in case the employee should die is only another such bond.

In the case where the employee pays a part of the premium he gets his insurance protection at low cost during employment, and even this form of insurance, while not free, tends to bind the employee to his job. The employee's life insurance, however, ceases at the end of the employment whenever that occurs, and even in those cases where the employee is able to take individual insurance without a medical examination, he has to pay at a higher rate on account of his increased age than he would have had to pay if he had taken an individual policy in the beginning.

LABOR AGE

THE TRUE BLUE BAR ASSOCIATION

Quite naturally, the Bar Association of Monongalia County has rushed to the defence of Lazelle. (See p. 25.) Fifty lawyers of those parts met at Morgantown, W. Va., to smear the whitewash over that cancerous individual. They considered it "ridiculous" that any one should complain that a judge should administer law to suit his pocketbook. No more servile outfit disgrace America than the lawyer class—and here is an exhibit of their ethics. It was reported with joy in the so-called NATIONAL LABOR TRIBUNE of Pittsburgh—an "Open Shop" paper posing as a labor sheet.

While all these paternal efforts of employers have a beneficial effect on many of the employees who would otherwise not protect themselves and their dependents adequately, still there are very many who could do more for themselves and their dependents by receiving in their own hands the larger wage and making their own arrangements for insurance.

Labor Widens Scope of Group Insurance

Members of groups, other than employees of one common employer, have been at a great disadvantage as far as group life insurance is concerned because they have been unable to obtain this low-cost insurance. Labor has, however, been instrumental in the broadening of the scope of group life insurance to include labor groups without regard to employment. The insurance regulations of some of the states have been extended to cover this new situation, and some of the commercial insurance companies now insure labor groups as well as employers' groups. It is interesting to note, however, that some of these companies have quoted a flat additional charge of \$2.00 per thousand for trade union life insurance, over and above the rate for a corresponding group of employees, which would seem to be discriminatory and therefore illegal.

Labor organizations have for a long time been interested in legal reserve "union insurance" rather than in "shop insurance". "Union insurance" is another way to combine the cooperative spirit which is the basis of insurance and also of Organized Labor.

First "Union Made" Old Line Life Insurance Company

The first union company to be organized on the old-line legal reserve life insurance plan has adapted group life insurance for the use of labor organizations so that for some time labor organizations have been able to obtain group life insurance from a company organized and exclusively controlled by members of Organized Labor and operated along lines entirely sympathetic to the aims and ideals of Labor and in the same cooperative spirit. This company is the Union Cooperative Insurance Association of Washington, D. C., and since its incorporation and the advertisement of its group life insurance plan adapted for labor organizations, the commercial companies have become very active in also offering insurance to labor unions.

Other companies are now being formed by labor groups, confirming by their very act of incorporation

the soundness of the judgment of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in forming the Union Cooperative Insurance Association. Whether these labor insurance companies which are now in the formative state will also write group life insurance for labor unions is still a matter for the future, when they arrive at the point of issuing insurance.

Group Insurance Plan of Union Cooperative

The plan of the Union Cooperative Insurance Association for group insurance is to insure each and every member of a labor organization under a policy running to the organization with the insurance payable in case of death to the beneficiary named by the member. There is no question of employment and the members obtain their insurance protection while they are in good standing in the union, so that they are perfectly free to change employment when that seems advisable in order to better their economic condition.

The protection is fully equal to the protection offered by the commercial companies to employers for their employees, and the labor organizations have the additional advantages of cooperating among themselves for the mutual protection of the families of the members, in their usual fraternal spirit.

Such a group life insurance plan adopted by any labor organization not only gives the individual members the peace of mind which comes with insurance protection, but at the same time allows the unions to solve their own insurance problems along their own cooperative lines. A group insurance plan also makes membership in the union more highly valued than if the union were only a social or economic organization. Many new members would be apt to come in and very few would allow their membership to lapse.

By arranging a group life insurance plan the death benefits of the members are put on a sound and uniform basis and there is no longer the need to depend on the emotional generosity of the other members to help the widow and orphans of a deceased members. While the old form of assessments or contributions may seem more warm-hearted and fraternal than a dollars-and-cents proposition like a group life insurance policy, it is much wiser and more satisfactory, both to the members and the dependents of deceased members, to avoid all appearance of charity and to uphold the independent spirit of the members by having all cooperate to pay for their own insurance protection. Such cooperation exalts the union idea to a high degree and no union having such a plan of insurance would ever prefer the "shop insurance" or that given by the employer in place of a wage increase.

In addition to any group insurance plan, however, workers should bear in mind the desirability of extending their insurance protection by taking individual insurance, whenever their finances permit.

There is no way of saving so easy as by paying insurance premiums, and this is therefore the easiest way for most workers to establish an estate for their dependents.

This individual insurance can also be obtained at low rates from the Union Cooperative Insurance Association, which has for a goal the ideal of \$5,000.00 insurance for each worker in the United States.

Brookwood's Pages

American Labor in the War and Post-War Period

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

VI. GOVERNMENTAL INTERESTS SINCE 1912

ON the eve of the War, political progressivism was in flood. Roosevelt with his flourish of social justice had reduced the Republican Party to a bad third. The Socialist Party, after a few thrilling years of local victories had reached a hopeful peak with a million votes for Debs in a year when the voter had a chance to choose between socialism, the social reconstruction promised by the Progressives, and the New Freedom blazoned by Wilson. On the tide of glowing promise, the reborn Democratic Party had come to power, and the scholar in politics bade fair to revolutionize the world.

From that pinnacle, it is a drab descent by way of Labor's support of Wilson and Co., the stage gestures of pretentious Farmer-Labor Parties, the inflated pretences of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and the effort to sink the destinies of Labor in the pathetic rally of rag-tag Liberalism under LaFollette, to the mornasses of today, where Labor continues its policy of non-partisanship while the interests of Big Business have a firmer hold on the government than ever before and the arena of American politics in most states and in the nation has succumbed to a one-party system of government.

The period has been one of useful disillusionment. It is easy to see now that the rise of the Socialist Party did not betoken the coming of Labor to political self-consciousness, but was merely a momentary grouping of random forces of discontent. It is easy to understand that Labor is still in the stage when the dominant craft unionism can do well enough for itself in the industrial field, so that it is not necessary to rally for political mass action. But it is also evident that Labor has lacked a statesmanly leadership with an eye on the future and has failed to develop a sound self-respect. The surrender of organized Labor to spurious war-time propaganda so that instead of putting allegiance to Labor interests first these were subordinated to the vigorous conducting of the shameless capitalist war indicated that we do not yet have a real labor movement in the United States, but that on the contrary the unions are often dominated by the same capitalist psychology as controls Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce. The outcome is that the political principles essential to the destiny of Labor

have no upholders save a few straggling propaganda groups.

In such a period as passes thus hastily under survey, it is vain to look for any grand achievements in the field of labor legislation. The A. F. of L. stated that the Clayton Act, passed in 1914, "secured to the workers . . . those fundamental principles of industrial liberty included in the chief features of the 'Bill of Grievances' and the objectives of the political policy the A. F. of L. inaugurated in 1906. It grants the right to strike, to picket and to urge others to refuse to work for or patronize or to employ any party to such dispute. Any one cited for violating an injunction in a contempt case can demand a jury trial." But in the Duplex Printing Case the alleged right of labor under the Clayton Act to establish a general combination against an employer by a sympathetic strike was denied by the Supreme Court in January, 1921. The privileges enumerated in the Clayton Act are limited "to those who are approximately and substantially concerned as parties to an actual dispute respecting the terms or conditions of their own employment." As the Open-Shop employers put it, "The broad contention that all labor could organize against all capital was rejected. Class war is not a lawful occupation. Class solidarity is not an economic relationship which justifies concerted action by all members of that class to assist one of their fellows in fighting a member of another class." As for trial by jury in injunction cases, the Supreme Court has indeed decided that the Clayton Act guarantees trial by jury in cases where the enjoined act is a crime under the law of the place where it occurs, but presumably if the act is not a crime the judge can punish it without trial by jury.

A Federal Child Labor Law was enacted in 1916 based on the power of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce; and another in 1918 based on Congress's control of the taxing power. This method of prohibiting things that Congress can not prohibit directly had been used repeatedly as in the White Slave act, the Pure Food Law, the suppression of poisonous phosphorous in match-making, the suppression of colored oleo, the prohibition of state bank notes. But the Supreme Court declared both the child-labor laws unconstitutional on the ground that what Congress has no authority to do directly it can not do in a roundabout way by denying

BUSINESS STUDIES EDUCATION

When the teacher and the business man collaborate the results must be satisfactory, for they are both greatly concerned over the affairs of the country and the youth of the country, soon to take charge of these affairs.—JACKSONVILLE TIMES UNION.

The above quotation was inspired by the announcement of the National Association of Manufacturers that they had appointed a committee to make a study of our public school education. We see ample "collaboration" between the business interests and the superintendents, which seeps down into the class room. The Lefkowitz case in New York is one to the point. Dr. Lefkowitz, because of his activities in the Teachers' Union, has been denied the promotion, to which he is entitled, having been the leader in the required examinations. But that case is not over with yet! Business does know, nevertheless, the value of controlling the Educational machine.

the article access to their inter-state commerce or by laying a prohibitive tax upon it. Thus the Supreme Court has flouted the time-honored presumptions of jurisprudence and has virtually ruled that henceforth Congress has no power whatever to pass any social legislation. Labor is supine. Instead of demanding that Congress use the power specifically given it by the constitution to crimp the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, we are asked to support a hopeless constitutional amendment, advocacy of which concedes that the Court is supreme over Congress whereas the constitution as it is makes Congress supreme over the court. If Labor were awake it would force this issue.

That Labor stands at the mercy of the courts is abundantly illustrated in the Coronado case, wherein unions are declared suable and liable for obstruction of inter-state commerce; in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. case, which makes unlawful attempts at unionization of persons that are under yellow-dog contracts; in the American Steel Foundries Tri-City Case, which decided that picketing is inherently unlawful, but that missionaries may be stationed, one at each entrance, to reason with individuals, but not to annoy unwilling listeners; and in the Arizona Anti-Injunction Law Case, which ruled the law unconstitutional as depriving a business man of property without due process of law. The upshot of the period is that the A. F. of L. seems on the point of confessing defeat in the whole injunction matter. It is clear that the official advice to defy injunctions will not be obeyed; so the Federation is turning its attention to attempts to regulate the machinery of injunctions.

Labor claims a victory in the overthrow of the Kansas Industrial Court Law which threatened to establish involuntary servitude in essential industries. It is to be observed, however, that the reason the law was overthrown was because it tried to compel the employer likewise to continue operation, hence it was unconstitutional as amounting to a confiscation of property rights. If it had been drawn so as to hit Labor only, it would doubtless have stood. As for immigration restriction (first by literacy test and then by national quotas) we are

scarcely entitled to claim a clear-cut Labor victory in view of the fact that the laws were put through under war-time duress and the red scare, and that nothing was done to keep American capitalists from taking their money abroad to employ the foreign workers instead of employing American workers at home.

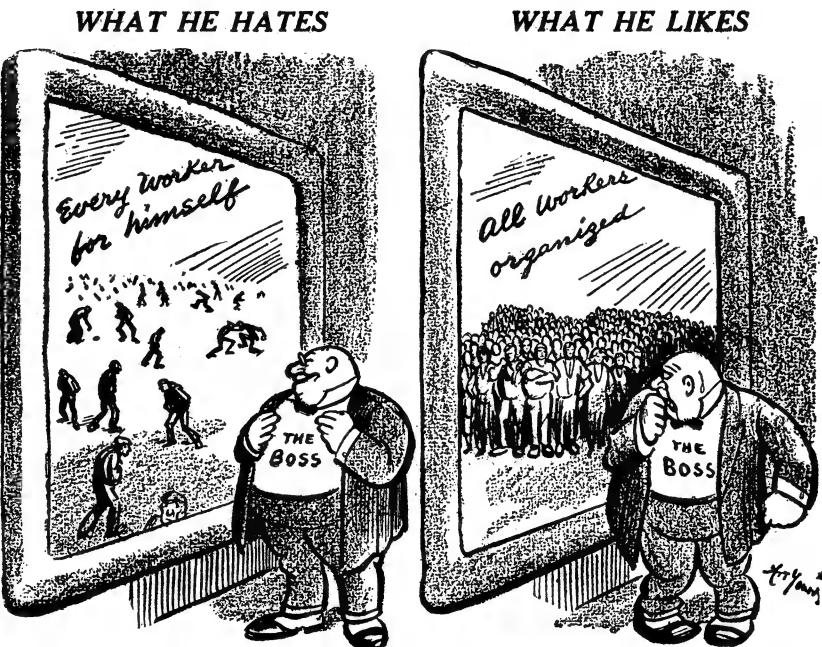
Much was made of the outcome of the Bucks Stove and Range case, in which contempt proceedings against Gompers, Morrison, and Mitchell led to a decision by the Supreme Court that sentence was invalid because the proceedings had been in the form of civil proceedings so that the defendants had not been properly warned that they incurred the risk of criminal contempt. When the lower court carried out new proceedings, the Supreme Court overruled them on the score that the statute of limitations barred further procedure. Labor did indeed win on a technicality, but the right to boycott was not established, and the way in which the case was paraded as a labor victory is good evidence of how little real gain Labor has to rejoice over in court matters.

On the whole it is safe to conclude that the only sort of Labor legislation that has a fair chance of going into effect under present conditions is the sort that progressive capitalism requires in order to modernize industry and standardize the conditions of competition. Even if legislatures could be induced to pass laws in the further interests of Labor, the United States Supreme Court is waiting to invalidate any such law as infringes on the prerogatives of the vested interests, and Labor by its seeming unawareness of the fact that Congress has full constitutional right to cut off the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over constitutionality and to assume that prerogative itself shows how little prepared it is to grapple with the political realities of today. It can hardly be said that the A. F. of L. resolutions for a post-war reconstruction program, for nationalization of mines, for nationalization of railroads, amounted to more than a pious gesture; and it is quite in line with hard realities that the A. F. of L. in its industrial democracy program and after has tended to belittle the role of government and to magnify action by industrial groups.

What of the Metal Trades?

The Beginning of a Discussion

By E. J. LEVER



Which shall be the picture in the Metal Trades? What is to be done to make Picture No. 2 come to pass? Brother Lever begins a discussion—which shall continue

WHAT'S the matter with the metal trades? The first thing the matter is that we lack imagination. The second is, we lack an understanding of the present situation in the metal industry. The third is, we lack a code of moral conduct within our unions.

Let us look at this organizing problem of the metal trades as it really exists. We have 19 unions with members employed in the metal trades who are affiliated with the A. F. of L. Twelve of them only need be here considered; the rest are primarily building trades, with one exception, the Carmen, which is exclusively a railroad union. The first group combined with the Carmen contains the Shopmen's group associated in the Railway Employees Department. These have, through years of fighting, established conditions on the railroads through joint action, and are now maintaining many of their system and local federations in spite of the destructive influence of the shopmen's strike and company-unions. This group of unions has developed a form of cooperation on the railroads where they are employed together, and at the same time failed to develop any form of cooperation in the metal industry where they are also employed together.

How is it that the same group of unions will cooperate

in one industry and fail to do so in the other? The reason is simple enough when explained. It lies in the character of employment peculiar to each industry. Railroad work is employment on a national and even continental scale, with almost similar conditions, employing the same types of skill and classes of men. The wages do not vary greatly. The railroads are a public utility and must observe similar rate standards, which in turn equalize wages, hours and working conditions. This creates equal pressure upon the workers, who develop similar organizations and cooperate with each other for common ends.

In the metal industry, however, conditions are different. There are as many branches of the metal industry as one can possibly imagine, almost as many as there are individual metal products on the market. The variety of work performed ranges from making molds for artificial teeth to building ships; from making pins and needles to building locomotives and airships. There is no regulation of the industry.

Wide-Flung

Except for certain branches which are fast coming under the thumb of banker control the industry is largely a free for all. New inventions come in every day, many

LABOR AGE

of them developed through organized direction in large machine corporations and requiring new methods for their manufacture which develop at an amazing rate. The pressure, therefore, upon the workers is unequal, to say the least. Some branches of the industry receive rather good wages and have fairly good conditions; others are miserably paid and have bad conditions. You have, for instance, a highly skilled toolmaker employed in an instrument plant under fairly good conditions, while his brother toils in the bowels of a ship, smeared with scum from head to foot and half cooked with steam; working night and day continuously for days at a time, with no sleep except that which he can steal when the boss himself is asleep, until the job is done. Then he finds himself worn out with hard labor and lack of sleep and out of a job until the next boat shows up. It's a case where the toolmaker does not know about the ship repairmen and cares less, and where the ship repairman looks upon the toolmakers as a rather lily-fingered lot and cares little in turn.

This condition holds good in practically every branch of the metal industry and gives a pretty good indication why it is hard for the unions to get together. They don't understand each other because their experiences are so different. And so you find the Railway Employees' Department a fairly good organization, while the Metal Trades Department is impotent and weak.

The trouble with proposing a remedy is that almost everyone is waiting for a Messiah to come, and he won't. There is too much talk about the workers being satisfied and that they therefore won't organize. No one who knows the facts will contend that they are satisfied. The Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia considers a turnover of 160 per cent per year quite normal, while some plants have as high a turnover as 366 per cent. This does not indicate great satisfaction by the workers with their jobs, does it?

Average of \$1200 a Year

The same holds true for wages. The Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank reports the weekly wages of 201,689 metal trades workers during February, 1926, employed in 406 plants in its territory (the largest metal manufacturing district in the country) as being an average of \$26.51. The average pay for 14,467 workers in 56 foundries, engine and machine tool building plants in the same district was \$29.12. And this was for weeks when they were actually employed. Anyone knows that an average unemployment of two months per year in the metal trades is a conservative estimate. On this basis 201,000 metal trades workers earn the magnificent sum of approximately \$1,200 per year. Where does your prosperity come in? Are the workers so prosperous they won't listen to organization? Add to this the increased speeding up that the worker is subject to, as well as his knowledge that he is producing more but not getting it and you have your answer whether the workers will pay attention to organization efforts or not.

Assuming then that the workers will organize, there are two major tasks confronting the metal trades unions. The first is, organize the workers. The second is, learn to cooperate among ourselves as organizations. The way to accomplish the first is to make up our minds that

the job is going to be done, no matter who does it, for that is of secondary importance. The way to accomplish the second, that of cooperation between unions, is to have something to cooperate about. Notice how we have learned to work together on the railroads. Our contract shops membership, however, is scattered. The boilermakers will have a few in one plant where no other trades are organized. The machinists are organized where the molders are not, and vice versa. If organization of all the trades were anywhere near completed in any one branch of the industry, circumstances would dictate the form of cooperation necessary to bring about unity of action. Succeed in organizing any branch of the industry and cooperation between trades suggests itself.

In trying to organize the skilled workers we will be confronted with the task of large masses of the semi-skilled who must be organized if all the trades are to be put on a firm organized basis. For this task the following is proposed:

Semi-Skilled Organization

Each union with interests in the metal industry redefines its jurisdiction. Our present jurisdictions run clear to the center of the earth to hear some of us talk about it. This claiming of everything in sight does not mean a thing, except that it prevents the organization of the semi-skilled who are by far the largest majority. Most of our unions were built by and for skilled workers. To all intents and purposes they function that way now and will in the future, for that is their job. To hold on to the undefined jurisdiction of the semi-skilled is therefore a task that has neither rhyme nor reason. Experience with the semi-skilled during the war, when most of the unions took them in, has not been very pleasant for the skilled workers. The general belief is that the inclusion of large masses of the semi-skilled prevented the unions from improving conditions for their skilled members as much as the opportunity afforded had they taken advantage of it. With this state of mind the chances of the semi-skilled entering the skilled unions and using them to improve their conditions are much smaller than they once were. It is therefore necessary to tackle this problem from another angle.

With jurisdiction redefined, and confining our unions to those classes of workers we may reasonably hope to organize within the next few years, the way should be left open for the founding of a semi-skilled metal trades union that will take care of the interests of the hundreds of thousands not otherwise cared for. There are hundreds of metal products factories in this country and Canada within which one needs a magnifying glass to find a skilled worker of any description. These plants make every conceivable sort of product and were not even touched during previous organizing drives because virtually no skilled workers are employed in them. They never will organize them under the present plan of hanging on to jurisdictions not one of them ever hopes to exercise. This field is immense and should be organized. The workers therein should be issued a charter by the A. F. of L., in order that they may take care of their own interests and work in cooperation with the older organizations.

BETHLEHEM'S BUNK AT LACKAWANNA

Expose of Steel Trap for Workers in Next Issue

HEAR ye! Hear ye! Steel ingot production for the first half of 1926 went to 24,260,537 gross tons. What does that indicate? "That steel consumption is rapidly catching up with capacity," according to the financial pages of the NEW YORK EVENING POST (July 13), and that "within a few years steel producers may have to extend their plants to keep up with the company's growing needs."

It indicates more than that. Namely, that the steel workers again have a golden opportunity to throw off the corporations' steel traps, disguised as company unions. Consumption demands are forcing the steel mills to work to capacity. No great surplus of labor exists. No hordes of immi-

grants, to act as permanent strikebreakers.

In the face of this situation, the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation (near Buffalo) has had the audacity this last month to suggest a wage cut to its men. Unrest raised its head, however, and the company became frightened. Keep up your agitation, men of the Lackawanna. Organization will give you a big wage increase, which you deserve. You know the fakery of your company union. You know what a piece of fraud was President Eugene Grace's recent statement to your "delegates" that you owned 17 per cent of the mills now and would own 100 per cent some day.

What the company union has done to the workers up at Buffalo will be told in our next issue.

Shaping A Fighting Weapon

By this method of organization the policy is continued of giving each group of workers who are capable of understanding each other as a group the kind of organization they will best be able to fashion into a fighting weapon in their own interests as wage workers. In this way we shall reach out and organize thousands who never will be reached by present methods. By organizing the semi-skilled along with the rest we are building up the percentage of the organized within the industry, which is the big job now for all concerned. For it is not the employers' strength so much as it is our weakness that makes them strong.

How are we going to reach the unorganized? Well, by tactics somewhat different from those now in use. What is apparent is that large masses of semi-skilled are not going to be organized unless methods are devised that appeal to their understanding of the situation. Our efforts so far have been to invite them to join our present unions. But the appeal of a skilled workers' union for members must be largely based on the assumption that the workers have a trade. This is, of course, not true of the semi-skilled, who do not look upon themselves as men possessing a trade, but as holding down jobs that cannot develop into a trade because there is no longer any trade connected with their work. To reach this large mass of workers the official trade union journals, while serving a useful purpose, for the skilled unions, cannot be expected to appeal to the large masses of the semi-skilled. The appeal is different and a different medium is therefore needed to reach them. What we need is a metal trades newspaper, a weekly at least, that shall be the job paper of the workers in the metal industry, and which shall fight for the workers' interests at all times. This paper must be attractive enough to be read by the workers and should be used as the organizing medium for the industry as a whole.

A Fact-Finding Agency

With this publication we need to establish a fact-

finding agency which shall devote its time to producing the necessary facts on the actual living and working conditions of the workers in the several branches of the industry, which should be used to organize with and to establish the best conditions obtainable for the workers.

And finally we need intelligent leadership which is willing to recognize facts and face them. Our trade union movement (and our metal trades unions are no exception) is looked upon too much as a private preserve by a good many of our officers, whose attitude towards their union is pretty much the attitude that majority stockholders in corporations hold towards their less fortunate partners. What we lack, in other words, is a standard of moral conduct within our unions, the rule of which leader or rank and filer alike will be compelled to observe for the interests of the organization as a whole. There is too much talk about counting the ballots your own way and continuing oneself in office regardless of the decision of the membership. Some of the very men who during political campaigns are out arousing the rank and file to the corruption in public office practice the same shameless tactics in their own unions. This simply happens to be "their" party, and here all forms of decent conduct break down. How then can you expect the rank and file to have confidence in leadership if some of the leaders in the movement will act in a manner that calls for a "corrupt practices act" within our unions? If we expect to lead workers we need to have their confidence. Without it, we can never hope to organize the workers and shape their organizations into the necessarily constructive social force they must be welded into if conditions for the workers are to be improved to any great extent.

Given the above conditions, not thousands, but the two millions and more workers in the metal industry can be organized. Without putting our shoulders to the wheel of progress and organizing them, the unorganized workers in the metal industry will remain the greatest menace to the organized workers of America.



Courtesy New Leader (London)

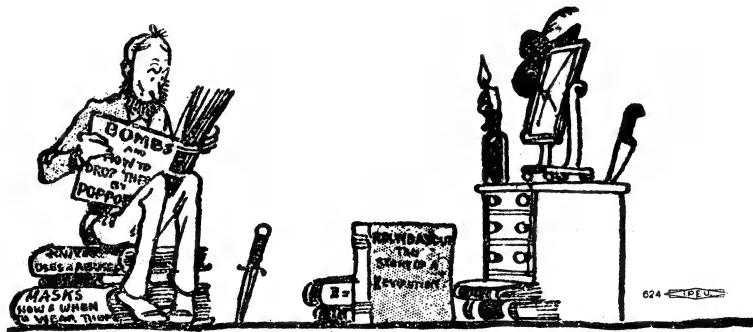
SHALL WE HELP HUNGER OR KILL IT?

Remember 1776! The British Miners are fighting the same Tories certain Revolutionists fought 150 years ago. Help them with funds through the A. F. of L.!

Alias Dr. Anderson

Expose of Jacob Nosovitsky, Labor Spy

By ROBERT W. DUNN



LAST month we told of the grand united front of the woolen and worsted corporations of Passaic to break the textile workers strike by offering a company union or "works council" as a substitute for a real union. This tactic, as we noted, did not break the strike of 12,000 workers. It failed just as the other strike-breaking manoeuvres had failed—the tear bombs and police clubbings, the arrest of leaders, the injunctions, the denial of civil rights, the exposés of the National Security League, the use of spies and provocateurs, the importation of strike-breakers from New England, the antics of Nimmo the sour-faced sheriff, the sadism of the Garfield police force in their successive beatings of Jack Rubenstein, the "relief" stores of the American Legion, the insane ravings of "freelance American" Jack Bryan with his slander of the strike leaders, the interferences with picketing, the beating of women and children. Against all these the strikers turned their broad backs and did not budge an inch toward the mills.

Finally the mill owners, desperate in their failure to import workers from other woolen centers, began their dickerings with various types of professional strike-smashing agents and agencies. The story of their negotiations with these gentry of the underworld has not come entirely to light. But the general outline is in hand and is worth reporting to the readers of *LABOR ACE*.

It was known to the strike committee some weeks ago that the mill owners had been in conference with a certain Nathan S. Shaw, a private detective specializing in "industrial work". Shaw had served the Brooklyn Shoe Manufacturers in recent months and had on several occasions proved himself an effective "fixer". He approached the mill owners with recommendations from responsible officials of important railroad companies. Those who know Shaw intimately say he has handled strike liquidating operations for many important railroads centering in New York City. Approved by these eminent open shippers Shaw offered his services to the owners of the big Botany Mills of Passaic.

Just what passed between the mill owners and Mr. Shaw in the way of cash or conversation is known only to themselves. There has been mentioned, however, by those "in the know" a sum of \$20,000 to break the strike by a certain date. It has also been intimated that Shaw in one of his conferences with the mill men promised them an "expert" on Communism, Socialism and what is generally known in capitalist circles as the Pink-Red movement. This "expert" was to aid Mr. Shaw in his strike-breaking operations.

Mr. Shaw shortly produced his man. It was none other than our old friend from Russia, the worthy Jacob Nosovitsky, otherwise known as "Dr. Sanders", "Dr. Anderson" and other aliases to suit the occasion.

Jacob and the Wall St. Explosion

Jacob it was who once approached a Metropolitan newspaper with "all the dope" about the Wall Street bomb explosion of some years back. The paper did not bite. It had heard of Jacob before. It was Jacob who was tied up with the Julius Krone Detective Agency of New York in spying on Count Karolyi and wife during their sojourn in America last winter. It was Jacob, furthermore, who had written a colorful and highly romantic series on the Reds for the Hearst papers last fall. And it was Jacob who for a time tried to make the Communist brethren believe he was a real comrade, but not for long. Once when he wept and said he was starving he gave one Communist his telephone number. It was Vanderbilt 6000—the Hotel Commodore! That and a number of other circumstances cooked him with the Communists. He is at present not admitted even to their outer offices. They regard him as a silly provocateur.

But the busy executives of the Botany Mills knew nothing of this story. They took Jacob at his face value, and Jacob, it should be noted, has lots of face. So he promised to deliver some documents that would tie Albert Weisbord, organizer of the Passaic strike, so close to Moscow that all the good Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox strikers would flee from him as from a pest.

LABOR AGE

So promised Jacob, and so swallowed the mill men, as they advanced him some money for a trip to Chicago to dig up the "documents".

Now the mill men were not particular as to the methods to be employed by their new friend "Dr. Sanders". He and his accomplice Shaw had guaranteed to break the strike. That was all that interested the mill men. They, perhaps, did not know that other numbers on the program were the planting of bombs and guns on several strike leaders, the kidnapping of Weisbord and several other schemes that would get the young leader out of the way or discredit him before the workers and the public.

The story of the part of the plans involving the Communist document is somewhat hazy. We do know, however, that Nosovitsky went to Chicago, and returned with some preposterous photostats that the mill men wished they could believe were anything but the manufactured article. They did not dare release them to a waiting world, and God knows the New York Commercial and the American Defense Society superpatriots and red baiters would have eaten them up! But it was a bit risky to publish them, and in the meantime Shaw and Nosovitsky had quarreled, presumably over the division of the spoils. Nosovitsky was off on another little enterprise of his own engineering. It was a master stroke designed to ruin Weisbord and prove to the mill men Nosovitsky's portrait of himself as the greatest "international spy" this side of Scotland Yard.

The Old Sex Stuff

This last card against Weisbord was nothing more than the old sex stuff, "ruined" woman frame-up that has been tried on labor leaders from the time of the Pharaohs. But, as we shall observe, the experienced framer Nosovitsky worked like an amateur. This is what he did:

He took a certain lady, address, age, and identity still unknown, by the hand and led her to the office of one Henry Margoshes an attorney sharing the office and telephone of detective Julius Krone, who had disputed with Nosovitsky over his share of the boodle in the Karolyi case. Nosovitsky told Margoshes that the lady was "his cousin or something" and that he "wanted to see her get a square deal." He showed a ring on the lady's hand which she admitted had been given her by Albert Weisbord some months before! Nosovitsky also told Margoshes he wanted to help the lady sue Weisbord for breach of promise. The amount claimed would be a little matter of \$50,000. Nothing simpler. Nosovitsky dictated the necessary legal papers giving the lady the entrancing name of "Rosalind Lapnore."

The suit was filed on a Wednesday. Newspaper men who inquired at the County Clerk's office in New York on Thursday found that the paper bore a notation purporting to show that copies were served on Weisbord Wednesday afternoon at No. 52 Second Avenue, New York City, by a Joseph W. Cohen, No. 58 East Eighth Street. Inquiring reporters discovered that neither address exists, the one lands you in the middle of a street and the other in a loft building! But little matters like this do not trou-

ble a great "international spy". It was also learned that the lady gave no address, age or previous condition of servitude, and that shortly after she had served the spy's purposes she had decamped for Atlantic City while Nosovitsky, who had passed her some \$350 for her services, was heard to remark: "If I get into trouble over this, others will go with me." The reporters wondered if this meant certain gentlemen connected with the Botany Mills. Nosovitsky intimated that it did.

Meanwhile Albert Weisbord was not perturbed. Indeed he was decidedly jovial. Why not? He had *not* been in New York on Wednesday. He had never heard of the fictitious Miss Lapnore. But he had heard of Nosovitsky. He understood the significance of this clumsy effort to "get" him. He explained it all to the great meeting of strikers that crowded Belmont Park. And they all laughed too. Another one on the mill owners. The strikers hoped Nosovitsky had robbed them of the whole \$20,000. Another effort to break the strike gone to pot. And the ranks still unbroken.

Mr. Sherwood Talks

Then Mr. Max Sherwood of the Eagle Detective Agency began to talk. Max is an old timer at the business of wrecking strikes and has been closely associated with Shaw on several jobs. Indeed some of the conferences on ways and means to end the Passaic strike had been held in his office with Nosovitsky and Shaw asking Sherwood's advice and counsel. When interviewed by reporters all that Max knew was that Nosovitsky had come to him several weeks before and submitted several plans for driving Weisbord out of Passaic. Max says these were not to his liking, and though he was a good friend of Nosovitsky's, having hired him and his wife before on special jobs, he had told the man of the many aliases he would have nothing to do with the Passaic business.

This may or may not be true. However we do know that Mr. Sherwood is not so ethical that he would turn down an opportunity on pure principle. Anything that will bring in the money interests Mr. Sherwood. Possibly Shaw and Nosovitsky were unable to split.

It is interesting to note the type of agency with which the Passaic mill owners are willing to deal if, as, and when it is to their advantage to do so. Mr. Sherwood has done at least a million dollars' worth of business in the last few years. His business card shows us the nature of his work:

Surveys, Analyses, Service.
Labor Problem Solution.
Human Element Control.
Destructive Elimination.
Increased Production.
Employment Specialists.
Industrial Betterment.

Preventive.
Corrective.
Constructive.
Productive.

And his letters to prospective clients are equally specific. One of them reads in part:

"Regarding industrial plants, we can furnish you with competent Male and Female Operatives who would report on any or all of your Employees.

"In Labor Difficulties, we can furnish you with any class

FOLLOWING THE FIGHT
Unions Show Interest and Appreciation

AMONG the many letters recently received, commanding the job LABOR AGE is doing and cooperating with us in the fight against Company Unionism, is the following. We re-print it as a sample of the way in which unions may intelligently use this publication in showing up the fraud and fakery of the company union idea.

INTER-COUNTY UNION LABEL COUNCIL

Newark, N. J. June 28, 1926.

LABOR AGE:

Yours of the 21st inst. was presented to our regular quarterly meeting on June 27th and I was instructed to write you and ask if you could mail out about 100 copies of the July issue if I furnish you with the addresses and that you send us the bill for same and we will pay it.

We will send out a letter to the recipients about the same time that you will mail the copies calling their attention to it with a request that they read every word printed in it and then pass it along to some Live Wire in their Union.

Kindly advise as soon as possible and I will forward you the names and addresses where we want them sent.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

JACOB C. TAYLOR, Secretary.

of competent help that you may require, who would be willing to work under Open-Shop conditions."

Hearst Pays Spy's Bill

Sherwood, as we have indicated is no novice at the game. His bill for guards, commissary, beating up a few strikers, and other incidentals in the last strike of the pressmen in New York City amounted to close to \$100,000. The bill was presented to the esteemed NEW YORK JOURNAL owned by Mr. Hearst.

One of Mr. Sherwood's right hand men in important strike-breaking jobs has been Mr. A. R. McDonald, whom the LABOR AGE was informed two years ago, had been engaged to break the strike of molders at the Saco-Lowell shops in Biddeford, Maine. According to the informant of LABOR AGE "Mr. Banfield, agent of this plant paid out nearly \$100,000, and got nothing in return but big bills for McDonald's expenses." McDonald who had learned the labor espionage game while with the Sherman Corporation, premier labor spies, promised to break the strike and put the local union of molders out of business. "The Saco-Lowell concern fell for the stuff."

It was in connection with his active services for the Eagle agency that Nosovitsky first came to the notice of LABOR AGE. A man connected with this agency informed us in June 1924: "I have just received a long report on the Trade Union Educational League written by a 'Mr. Anderson' as well as a long report for the benefit of the shoe manufacturers written by the same party telling of conditions in the plants, happenings at meetings of the contending shoe unions. . . . He, Anderson, has gone so far as to promise a complete list of all

Another letter, from an individual union man, also deserves reproduction here:

Plainfield, N. J., July 18, 1926.

LABOR AGE:

I sure do appreciate your magazine. I get more news of labor conditions out of the LABOR AGE than I do out of my monthly journal. I take the LABOR AGE to the shop and hand it to the boys, from one to the other, to read it, and tell them they can get information in it on the labor situation as it is, especially in New Jersey—in my opinion, one of the worst states for labor in the country, and I have traveled through this country and seen a lot. The trouble is, we have too many book and card men and not enough union men. It is a shame, but let us hope that your efforts in getting some good news over to them is going to help a lot in waking them up. I am going to get some of our "bookmen" as I call them, to take the LABOR AGE—and see if it won't put some unionism in them. It seems that that is the only way. Wishing you a grand success in your great effort,

Fraternally yours,

PETER MORAN.

radical members of the Shoe Workers' Protective, Amalgamated and other unions."

This was Mr. Nosovitsky in his more prosperous days when he still had connections with the radicals. The Nosovitsky of the "Lapnoe" frame-up is the same schemer and fixer but without his former connections. Still the Botany business men paid him good money. They will pay anyone good money who will guarantee to break this strike of woolen workers in 10 days, 20 days or a month.

It will have to be a very wise scheme to end this Passaic strike, without recognizing the union and returning the wage cut and improving the conditions of these exploited workers.

The Passaic Prussians will doubtless keep on trying out the various spy, strike-breaking and slugger-providing agencies. With the money they will blow in on this type of service they could pay a large number of their workers a fairly decent wage. But the Prussians in Passaic have not considered this humane method of ending the strike. They will not consider it until they have to. Then they will recognize the workers' union. They will bargain collectively with their workers only when they are compelled to.

A workers' union in Passaic will live long after Nosovitsky and all the other spies, national and international, have passed off the scene. Organized labor in every industry and union should keep on giving to Passaic to make this union possible, to help it win its great victory over the mill owners. Though Nosovitsky and his pals may attempt in other ways to smash the strike and dispose of its leaders, the workers will stand by those devoted persons who are helping them build their union.

Another General Strike?

The British Situation—And What May Come of It

By PATRICK L. QUINLAN

WHATEVER our feelings and emotions may be or our views of political and industrial conduct, we must be careful in applying the yardstick to the British General Strike. It cannot be gaged by other general strikes. For every one of them, the Swedish, the Belgian, the Russian, the German and the Irish, were political in character and object. The General Strike in Britain was typically British and characteristic. It ran true to form and to English history. It was both commonplace and unusual. It was a stupid blundering illogical affair with brilliant, unique and epoch-making flashes.

How Marx and other noted exponents of his philosophy would have enjoyed this latest development of British industrialism! Stephen Langton and his Norman-French barons had a typical everyday feudal row with King John long ago, and it concluded with a chapter of English political liberties. King Charles beat the feudal tom-tom and tried to translate damnable wrongs into divine rights. His own Scots army sold him for a groat to Cromwell. The latter tried and convicted his majesty of Fundamentalism. And after the king was duly and properly beheaded, Oliver organized the first soviet of the English middle class. King James the Second and last of the great British Fundamentalists did his best to revive autocracy and got deported for it. The Bill of Rights followed and with it modern democracy and liberalism.

The reader can see that the big things of English history were not carefully planned nor accompanied at their inception by a salvo of theses. Like Topsy they somehow got started and "just growed." And to make sure that they meant business those big things duplicated themselves and repeated their performances.

British Do Not Stop Short

Unlike continental ways and doings English history is not as Marx said of France in the days of Louis Napoleon "first a tragedy next a farce". In Britain it has a way of being first a fight and next a "revolution". And the great strike of May 1, this year of grace, was very fittingly and most properly in line with the historical scheme of things as developed in Britain. It began over a commonplace dispute at the coal mines in which the hundred-year-old subject of hours and wages was the bone of contention. Very materialistic and very unidealistic, the spiritually minded reader will say. But it developed into a national crisis and what is very near to a social revolution. And just like Britain and just like the British.

In all British revolutions—and indeed in our own and the French revolutions—there have been men in the camps of the progressives who said: "They went too far". Charles and James had numerous sympathizers in the camps of their enemies. King Louis and his

queen had Thomas Paine and many brilliant men pleading for them. And it is a notorious fact that the royalist pro-British connectionists and Tory Fundamentalists outnumbered the followers of Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Adams and Otis. So we find today men in the camp of British labor deplored the General Strike and saying "Never again", to it. There is a group in the Labor Party headed by Mr. and Mrs. Snowden who do not believe in strikes at all. Philip and Ethel Snowden, being pacifists and of middle class origin and association, can be understood. They are unable to see beyond their own horizon and environment. It is somewhat different with the Right Honorable James H. Thomas, His Majesty's Privy Councilor and with the Right Honorable James Ramsay MacDonald, ex-premier and leader of His Majesty's Opposition.

The former is a respected member of the Railway Men's Union and the recipient of an expensive testimonial from his fellow workers in the shape of a fine house and a large sum of money. His men have gained all that they enjoy to-day through strikes and direct action. That MacDonald, a man of dubious lineage and undoubtedly poverty, with his Highland and fisherfolk background, should issue lugubrious preachments against the General Strike is to say the least deplorable. His record as a leader in the Independent Labor Party is against his present "pure and simple" political stand. No one knows better than he what the strike has accomplished. Then, why the about-front? How comes it that the revolutionary socialist has changed into a wailer about "the country" and "the nation"? The answer is that MacDonald et al were frightened by the effect of their own conduct. It makes little difference whether or not Thomas and MacDonald ever wanted the General Strike. Few in Britain really expected it up to the last minute. But since it was started, it was up to them to keep their banners nearest the sky instead of trailing them in the mire of middle class cant, drivel and humbug. The safest course for MacDonald's own reputation would have been to stand aside and let the chariot go by on its way. Unfortunately for his own fame and for the social forces and factors that threw him up, he meddled and he muddled.

Generals Beaten by Their Men

Regardless of the cowardly and premature calling off of the general strike without consulting Smith and Cook, regardless of the parliamentary blessing given Thomas et al by MacDonald, the battle went on until some of the things the miners and workers demanded were accomplished. As Robert Burns said "The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft aglee". The generals were beaten by their own men. England will never be the same mentally and psychologically.

All the king's horses and all the king's men could not

prevent the strikers from winning the greatest victory in modern times. Churchill could rave and shout; Jyx could storm and threaten; MacReady of Black and Tan notoriety could command the military; Asquith and Lloyd George could dispute on indefinable liberalistic dogma; Parliamentary labor and some trade union leaders could sabotage and cry "Hold enough" to save Baldwin's face, all to no avail.

A dispute that began over a lockout threat on the part of the coal barons developed into a sympathetic strike and that became a general industrial war culminating in a near-revolution. It is plain that despite all the blustering and trumpet-blowing and shouting on the part of the capitalist captains and kings and their journalistic lackies in London and New York the strikers had gotten out of hand, that they won a brilliant and glorious victory, and that a turning point in British history has been arrived at. It proved to even the blindest that Imperial England was tied hand and foot and that two states within the country were contending for mastery. I am inclined to agree with Gilbert K. Chesterton and George Russell that industrially the strikers won and that politically it was a draw. What made the battle indecisive was the failure of the leaders on both sides to see it through. It is plain they did not want to.

Is It the Last Great Strike?

There are important men in all camps declaiming and thundering that this is the last great strike. They succeed admirably in advertising themselves, but they also succeed in making themselves very foolish. With some, no doubt, it is a case of the wish being father to the thought. With others I am afraid it is the expression of a fear that the exponents of direct (industrial) action will win out at the next trades union conference, and displace the parliamentary statesmen from their pinacles of place and power.

One thing I am sure of and that is: Those who say there will be no other General Strike in Britain do not know British history or if they do, misread it and misunderstand it. The truth is that whatever the English do in a big way they usually repeat. A precedent for a general strike has been established and that will be reason enough for another one. The next time they will be more fearless and more efficient. And as all the elements for another one are there, we may well look forward to one in the near future and sooner than many expect it.

The workers have tasted real power and they are not going to let another opportunity slip from their hands. As the great Irish leader, Parnell said to his people on a memorable occasion: "No man can set a boundary to the march of a people: no man can say, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further'." The British workers (and they are the majority of the people) have begun the march forward, they are not going to stop, look behind them or retreat. They will keep on moving and marching until they get control of the machinery of production and the natural resources of Britain.

P. S. The first special parliamentary election held after the strike showed the temper of the people. The Tories lost their government seat, the Liberals were nowhere, and Labor won a smashing victory.

HONOR 1776—BY AIDING THE BRITISH MINERS!

American Federation of Labor Calls on Us



BRAVE men and true, one million of them, are standing today in serried ranks, battling for life, liberty and happiness.

We repeat that last much-used and much-abused phrase advisedly. The British Miners are face to face with their Lexington and Concord. They are waging war on the same slimy crowd of Tories, in a pacific way, whom certain "unrespectables" and "outlaws" attacked with gun and sword 150 years ago.

What a hurrah and whooping went up during the World War, urging us to rush money, men and munitions to the aid of the Allies for the sake of Democracy! In 1926 we are concerned about a much more important matter—a REAL War for Democracy, with men with folded arms as our allies. Upon their fate in Britain hinges much of what the Big Business interests will do to us. How better can we honor the political freedom won by America in 1776 than by giving our all, if need be, to those who are fighting for international industrial freedom in 1926?

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor adds its voice to the world forces of the workers which are calling for aid to the Miners. From Russia to America, the working class of the world stands behind those warriors from under the earth, as they defy Blundering Baldwin and the entire British Employing Class.

The A. F. of L.'s appeal is not merely in the name of humanity. It does not merely consider the wives and children of the brave. It makes a direct appeal to us as workers to support those of our own class in their battle for freedom.

Concerning "Sociology"

By a Psychologist

By THEODORE SCHROEDER

Mr. Schroeder invites us to look within ourselves, as well as to the outside, for the cause of the things which agitate us. Whether we agree fully with him or not, we can find in his suggestions an explanation in part at least for some of the inconsistencies within ourselves as well as for some of the inconsistent conduct of those with whom we come in contact. In order to bring out his point, he has made the case a little stronger than it is, we suspect. But that all of our ills do not come from economics alone, is evident to the most unobserving. This is the beginning of Mr. Schroeder's plea for a consideration of the "new psychology". It will be followed by other articles.

I. WHAT IS IT?

WHAT is this "sociology", anyway? Our professional sociologists tell us it is the scientific study of the social relations of humans. When they come to exhibit their method of work, they act as if their job was to study these relations as the result of some laws or forces from outside the human animal, but having some effect upon the humans, who are actually considered as if they were inanimate blocks, that are being helplessly pushed around by these external powers, or "laws".

When the "sociologist" becomes very intellectual and "scientific", he states these forces external to the human animal as "laws" that exist not within but outside of human nature. So we get "laws" of supply and demand, also "moral" laws of super-rational sanction. Likewise we have incessant babble about economic laws, statutory laws and more or less in conformity with the latter, and we have other pious twaddle, all being mislabelled as "science". Quite in harmony with all this misconception of the nature of our human problems and of the scientific method as applied to these, our "sociologist" superintends the making of endless and repetitive surveys of the mechanical externals of human existence. Thus, we get statistics of crime and church attendance; of poverty and wealth; of manufacture and starvation or rural church attendance and labor turnover; of watered stock and prohibition enforcement; and so on, with the indefinite perpetuation of our ignorance as to the real dynamics which determine human conduct, and with the glorification of our childish process of evading the lingering infantile factors of our human nature, as these are unconsciously exhibited in all the ponderous volumes of sociologic bunk. At least so it appears to me.

My very different view is that there are no external (objective) social laws, except as the creation of our sociological and theological blind leaders of the blind. In other words, for me sociology is a study of inter-human relations, but human temperaments, functioning at different levels of psychologic maturity. In other words, sociology differs from agriculture in that its distinctive

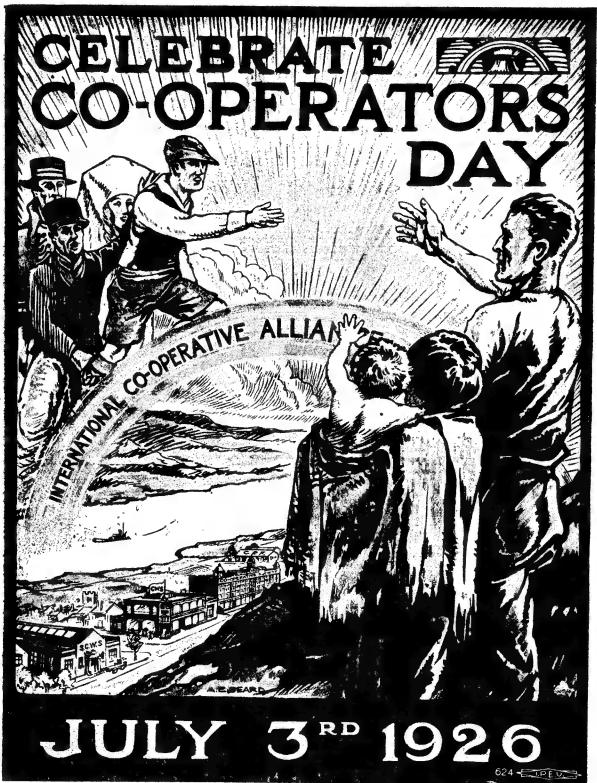
features are quite exclusively psychological. Physical and chemical elements are there, of course, but not as the distinctive essentials, in human relations. From this point of view there are no social laws that can be understood, or even profitably studied, otherwise than as the natural psychologic processes and their varied conditioning factors, as all these are involved in the ebb and flow of the psychologic part of the force aspect of the human organism. To express this in the common language, we may say that sociology should be almost exclusively a study of human nature.

From this approach the endless surveys and classification, and mere logical rationalization of the symptoms of our social disorders, all done as if it were an end in itself, is quite hopeless and useless. This is on the same level of ignorance as the descriptive psychology and psychiatry of the last century, which never got us anywhere. Each man who wrote a book on insanity could make a new grouping of overlapping symptoms, give it a new greek or latin name and become a "great" psychiatrist over-night. It was only with the genetic approach to psychiatry that any useful progress was made. Now the anti-social behavior or eccentric thought of humans is being explained in terms of the functioning of internal glands, of diet, of organic structural defect, of disease germs, and especially of the unconsciously-working present effect of past emotional experiences. Thus the psychiatrist is led to the treatment of internal conditioning factors (causes?) instead of symptoms. Current sociology has unfortunately not yet reached that scientific stage.

That older attitude in psychology exhibits all the defect of our current sociology. All the time our sociologists, our reformers both radical and conservative, our lawmakers and our revolutionists, are merely dealing with the symptoms of our psycho-social disorders. These symptoms of our general mental affliction include an inner compulsion to evade and to avert a closer scrutiny of the disordered emotions, inside the skin of our captains of industry, our labor leaders, and the human animals generally, which latter become the common soldiers in all the resultant wars of our unconsciously morbid leadership. In this situation our "sociologist" sits owl-like on the dead limbs of the tree of knowledge, and directs new surveys to be made, in order to expound new learned twaddle. So he makes "progress", by finding a new rationalization for some old platitudinous rule, of other more antique metaphysical "sociologist".

Did you ever hear of a sociologist who tried to study our billionaires, or labor leaders, or professional reformers, or politicians, in order to find out whether or not their activities are the product of organic disorders, or of emotional disturbances which may be determined by emotional abnormality, which originates in the childhood (pre-pubescent) sexual life? Far be it from them to delve into

A POSTER WITH A MEANING



The day before our Fourth of July was a day of rejoicing in Europe. It was the annual International Cooperation Day, set aside by the International Cooperative Association four years ago for the celebration of the spirit which has broken through international boundaries to set up a new form of industrial and commercial enterprise. Service and not profit, is the key idea of Cooperation. Under that banner, the movement has thrived in Europe. Faced with the collapse of Capitalism there, Cooperation has steadily progressed in those countries where it has been allowed freely to function. In Italy, Fascism has suppressed it—after the Italian cooperatives had grown to be noteworthy throughout the world. But in Great Britain, Germany, the Scandinavian countries and Russia it continued to expand, even during the past bad year.

On one problem, more than any other, Cooperation has yet to find a solution. It is: the relation of the cooperatives to the militant trade union movement. Last year, in Britain, strikes among cooperative employees were part of the general background of labor discontent. In the General Strike and the Miners lockout, although the cooperatives have played a noble part in aiding the workers, there has been some dispute as to whether or not they could not do more. As the cooperatives are overwhelmingly working-class in character, they must meet this problem—and form a closer-knit union with the workers as producers. Meanwhile, for the gigantic service they have done, we hail them as the heralds of the passing of the Profit System.

such "dirt" and they hope the "Good Lord" or the policeman will bless and protect the "purity" bunk, with which they conceal their "impure" lives.

Insane Often Think Others Insane

IT is a characteristic of many insanities that its victims are absolutely certain of their own sanity. It is always the other fellow who has something wrong with him. So also in the minor emotional morbidity, every

one assumes to have a capacity for infallible self-diagnosis. He knows what he knows about himself, and cannot possibly admit any unknown or unconscious factor in his own psychologic imperatives. Accordingly all the boisterous and contending leaders, who would guide us to a new millennium, are unconsciously compelled to agree in denouncing and repudiating the genetic psychologist if they ever hear of his existence and work. No expert could possibly know more about the behavior of psychologic energy within themselves than they have always known. So then the merry war between omnipotent capitalists and omniscient laborers, of depraved criminals and infallible moralists, of reactionary and conservatist, of militarist and pacifist, will probably continue for a long time. All this will remain on the same intellectual level as dogs fighting over a bone or theologians over a metaphysical dogma. Our sociologists cannot help, until they learn that such conflicts must be viewed and decided as issues in the relative maturity of the intellectual methods of the disputants. Before they are qualified to so view social problems, they must know much more about the internal factors which control their own respective choice of social theory, and of its defense. Maybe they cannot learn this adequately for doing any real good to sociology, without first submitting themselves to an expert, for a psychogenetic investigation. Now I am getting on dangerous ground, and hasten to make a temporary strategic retreat.

According to the popular antique method of judging human animals, we classify them according to their clothes, their social mannerisms, their racial or language habits, their "moral", economic, political, social . . . religious creeds or affiliations, the manner or quantity of their ostentatious waste, or any other external manifestation of some aspect of their psychologic compulsion. From the viewpoint of the new psychology, we consider these externals as merely the more obvious symptoms of the underlying compulsion, and of the resultant social problem. The real job of understanding humans is the study of the development of those compulsions, and their more obvious symptoms. The real understanding of the humans who seem to "guide" our human destiny, requires us to get at the internal experiential causes for their particular apparent symptoms, and especially the more important yet unconscious contributions to the control of the obvious act and conscious thought.

Thus viewed a most successful billionaire may sometimes be classified as the product of a morbid feeling of inferiority and fear, against which he was seeking wholly unnecessary wealth in ever increasing quantities, as the only known or attainable neutralizer. That inferiority feeling may be due to infantile experiences. When his morbid craving fails to find adequate comfort by this property route, he may turn to God as a supplement or a substitute for the property compensation. So come many of our religious and moral leaders. The enthusiasm with which they devote themselves to proving their super-righteousness becomes the exact measure of the pain which the inferiority feeling would impose, if the relative success in the super-righteous pose did not enable them to exclude it from consciousness.

(How these considerations affect our own actions, will be told by Mr. Schroeder in the next issue.)

Bulls In China's Shop

Oriental Happenings Affect American Workers

QUESTIONING eyes have been turned to China. Queer disturbances have been proceeding from that land of many people, which has lain asleep so long. Is it of any consequence to us? Let us see.

Turn first to the NATION'S BUSINESS for June, 1926. We learn there of the Yankee efficiency man in China. It is the brighter side. As an outcome of an expert survey, American Business will be able to increase China's silk production, 400 per cent. "This once achieved a balance of trade would swing in China's favor, enable her to purchase needed supplies to rehabilitate her waterways system, build dams against floods, construct railroads, thus check the recurring famine periods, and retrieve her fortunes."

If American Business was interested enough in the Chinese coolies for 42 years to increase their silk output, what must have been their plans (and those of other countries) when they saw the endless mass of potential cheap labor that this land put in their hands! They were not slow to seize the opportunity. The textile industry in China, under foreign control, has been steadily on the rise. Fed by child labor, it has begun to compete with the textile mills of New England and those of Manchester. In 1923 the Municipal Council of Shanghai appointed a committee to investigate the child labor conditions in local factories. The chairman was a British lawyer from Hong Kong, and the mills were well represented on the committee.

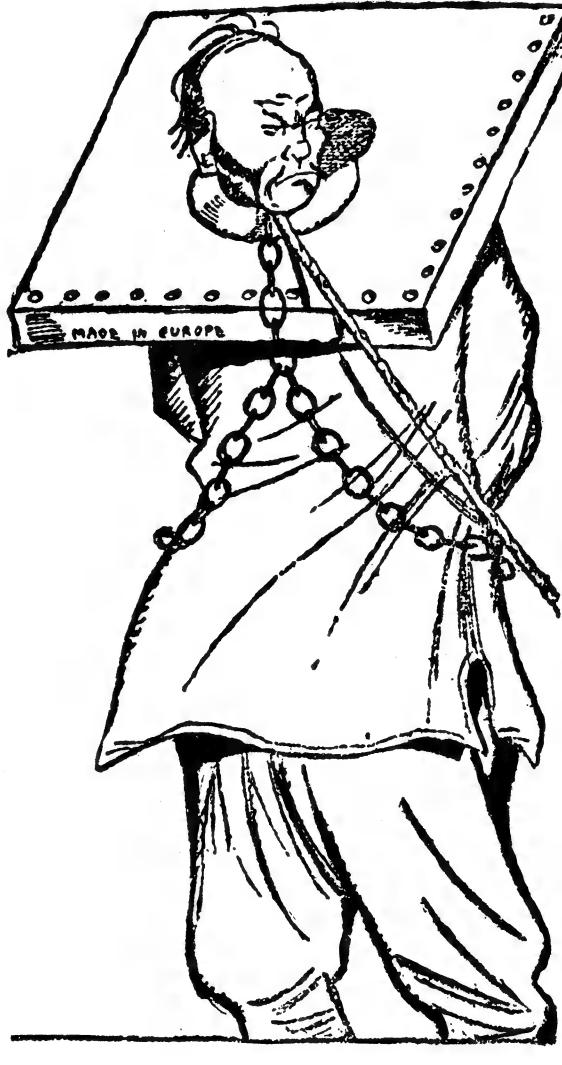
What did it find? That in 274 factories there, over 22,000 child workers were employed, under the age of 12 years. The hours were 12 a day, as a rule; children worked both day and night. Of the 22,000, fully 17,000 or 80 per cent were little girls. Many children, overcome by fatigue, lie asleep in every corner. The child contract labor system exists. Contractors go out into the country districts, hire the children from their parents at \$2 a month, sell

them to the mills for \$4 a month and herd them, without protection, into the industrial cities. That is the condition, existing not alone in textiles but in other industries. It can be found, not only in Shanghai, but in all the port cities. (THE AWAKENING OF CHINA, a pamphlet, by James H. Dolsen, p. 77.)

Against these conditions, and against their exploitation by foreigners in particular, the radical government of Canton has fought for a number of years. It has come to be the star of hope for the Chinese workers. Its spirit has spread to Shanghai and to other cities—leading to the big outbreak of one year ago. Then it was that the foreign governments, led by the British in particular, attempted to put down China's restlessness by bloodshed. Canton has retaliated by the economic boycott of the port of Hong-Kong, controlled by the British—almost ruining that rich town.

The foreign governments, in their greed for further resources and for the exploitation of the teeming millions, have backed various native military leaders. These have acted as bulls in China's shop—tearing up the country and ravaging it with war. Soviet Russia has also had her hand in the pie. But up to date, the other countries have appealed to militarism and absolutism alone, while Russia at least has attempted to ally itself with Canton and to support Chinese independence aspirations. That has been admitted by the daily press of a number of countries.

During the Shanghai disturbances, President Green of the A. F. of L. took a strong stand for the Chinese workers and against their virtual slavery. This was a wise and humanitarian stand. Not merely because common justice demands it. But because these workers, if kept under the conditions now prevailing, will be a serious menace to the workers of other countries. We will suffer, too, eventually—our textile workers, first of all. God knows, they are hard enough beset as it is—without this added burden.



Free China

Taken from a Russian paper, this cartoon expresses accurately the present feeling of Chinese students and workers.

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Labor History in the Making

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

IN THE U. S. A.

ARE WE HONEST? The Time of Test Has Come.

WE defy you to fight, you fools and cowards! So say the Employing Interests, in effect, to the organized workers of this country, in almost every issue of their publications. Smugly and contemptuously, they challenge us to organize the unorganized. BARRON'S—the weekly WALL STREET JOURNAL—on May 17th even plays up the question: "Is the Labor Union Doomed?" The guilds of the Middle Ages, it says, were the "tightest labor unions the world ever saw." "All great cathedrals of the 13th century were built by union labor, but is there anything more permanent in labor unions today? . . . The terror in Britain now is that the employer has degenerated into the guild employer of the Middle Ages, shackled to the union. . . . The world is coming to us (of America) to learn how we manage to perform the daily miracle of our factories. We are scrapping old machinery, and part of that discarded machinery is the labor union."

Our modern Dives, sitting at his banquet table, is too self-confident. He doesn't see ahead to the Hell which Lazarus, fed with the crumbs of Company Unionism, is laying out for him. We see another sign on History's pages. It is, that workers' organizations go on and on and on. It is, that the worker shackled to the employers through company unions will shackle those employers to the unions, eventually. "Think you," said John Ruskin to the Yorkshire employers many years ago, "that men may come and men may go, but—mills—go on for ever? Not so; out of these, better or worse shall come; and it is for you to choose which."

And Ruskin warned them that the Kingdom of Profits would pass, even as the Kingdom of Solo-

mon had gone its way.

Even now, the feeble walls of Company Unionism are crumbling and cracking. Discontent is everywhere below the surface. Full-grown men who look about the world today and see the struggle for freedom ever widening, will not long be fed on pap. They will refuse to be nursed from the bottles of social service sob sisters and gentle-voiced personnel department clowns. The fake "Brotherhood" of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York cannot hold its men in check. When they want to get something real, as now, they strike!

It is up to labor unionists to take advantage of this new restlessness of their unorganized brothers. We can do this, by getting out and fighting hand in hand with them. Study the company unions in your vicinity. Go to the unorganized workers with the message of organization. Show them the fakery that has been put over on them. Keep the message of the value of real unionism alive in the columns of your local daily papers. Have no respect for persons. Attack the Whited Sepulchres of the Employing Interests for what they are—receptacles of rotting dead men's bones. Do this always with facts. Name names and give dates!

Are we honest in our belief in labor unionism? Then, let us translate our belief into action. Free-men must always fight for further freedom. Slobbering over our oppressors will get us nothing. It merely augments their contempt for us. This year 1926—with its new era of organization fronting us—has as great a test in it for men believing in the workers' cause as had 1776 for those who fought the British Tories.

PICKETS AND CONVICTS

New Jersey Acts—But the Courts?

ANYTHING worth getting at all is worth going after with hammer and tongs. And it was with hammer and tongs that the organized workers of New Jersey decided to make sure of a helpful peaceful picketing law.

The measure curbs the courts in their injudicious use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. It limits the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions, permitting strikers and their sympathizers to use persuasive

arguments to induce persons to abstain from working while a strike is on.

The reactionary forces of the corporation "company union" lobby used every means, fair and foul, to defeat the measure. They wrote an amendment into the bill aiming at "threats and intimidation"—which, of course, the courts can interpret as they see fit. They even stole the official copy toward the end of the session, when it was certain it would pass—just as the Grundy-Mellon gang did in Pennsylvania with the workmen's compensation bill last year. But the copy was recovered in time, in this case, to put it through over the opposition.

This information was given by J. J. Reilly, of Wald-

LABOR AGE

wick, N. J., State legislative agent of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen—himself an engineer on the Erie Railroad.

Along with the picketing bill, there was also passed a measure providing that the words "convict made" shall be placed on all prison-made goods. It is supposed to be the rule that all such goods are used merely by the State and not sold in the open market. The law makes certain that every convict-made piece of goods shall be known as such, so that no imposition can be put upon the buying public.

What will the prostituted judiciary of New Jersey do with these laws? Already are the corporation lawyers picking them to pieces on technicalities. The NEWARK NEWS of July 3rd advises us that the title to the picketing law is defective. That is an old gag, covered with the mold of legal decay. Questions are also being raised as to whether each piece of goods—license plates, shoes, etc.—shall be labelled with the convict label, or merely the containers!

Of this we can be sure: The courts will do all they can to destroy all labor legislation. New Jersey has seen the judges in action long enough—particularly in its public utility cases. About the only progressive stand that Edward I. Edwards, former Governor and now Senator, ever took, was against the increased rates of the Public Service Corporation. This body, temporarily defeated in the State commission, calmly went into the Federal Courts and got all it wanted. The telephone company has done the same thing just recently.

Our courts, let it be said, are the last refuge of the scoundrel. Why should they not be, when Scoundrel-dom is enthroned in person on most of their benches?

ANOTHER "OPEN SHOPPER" TIP

ON its first page run the words, "Printed In An Open Shop". They stand out in bold characters, much less modest than our own union labels.

We refer to **FREEDOM IN EMPLOYMENT**—note the name—"a monthly publication issued by Milwaukee Employers Council", as it styles itself. It is another of the local organs of the Open Shop forces, whereby they keep the fire of anti-union hatred at fever heat.

"Our Former Leaders Come to Learn" it notes proudly on its first page, alluding to the migration of Britishers, to find out why America is so rich. Particular attention is devoted to the book by two English engineers, referred to in our own magazine last month. "The courage of capitalists" and the "growth of the Open Shop" is set down, in conclusion, as the cause for America's fattening off the needs of war-stricken foreigners. The great hymn of the Open Shop is sung throughout its pages, namely, that Machinery has Brought High Wages. "God Save the Machine" should be its title. Organization, of course, gets the workers nothing, according to this argument:

Everyone who knows anything about economics and who is not subsidized by the employers, knows this to be a lie. Mr. James Myers, himself an important factor in an employee-representation plan, has hit it in the head in his book on **REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN INDUS-**

TRY, to which we have called attention at other times. On page 240 of that book, he says: "The writer knows of no instance in the history of employee representation where wages have been raised by the pure initiative of the works council (Company union)." That is borne out by all the other studies on the subject. And we would like to challenge any corporation to show when and where its company union, of its own initiative and without "outside agitation" or fear of unionization, has ever secured a wage increase for its men.

Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Owen D. Young of the General Electric, Mr. Gary—all you employing angels and archangels—speak up and show us the goods! They cannot do it. Their entire company union castle is built on sand, so far as the workers are concerned. It can be torn down by the employers, at the least sign of rebellion. If depression comes, these same employers can quietly erase it. As Dr. Harry Laidler pointed out at Camp Tamiment last month: "There are no strike funds, for enforcing workers' demands, in any company union." The funds are in the employers' pockets.

But Mr. Open Shopper, in his various publications, does give the organized workers a number of tips. He dishes out the bunk; we will have to be equally busy in getting out the truth. He knows the value of publicity; we are still largely defensive in attitude and have not fully learned the need for fighting organs of our own and for efficient publicity in the daily press. He has no intention of breaking bread with us, on peaceful terms; some of us still dream of cajoling him into friendship. The only way to win him is to batter him into submission. The Labor Movement can never win respect by trying to become "respectable". It will gain respect only when it exerts its economic strength upon its enemies, like a vice.

WHITE-COLLARY WINS A STRIKE

IT'S contagious, we tell you—this organization business!

Behold this drama: Scene—Chicago. Time—July 1, 1926. Characters—700 mechanical and civil engineers employed by the city, City Executives and the City Council.

The engineers figure as the proverbial worm, which has decided to turn.

CHORUS OF ENGINEERS: Thirty per cent increase, or we won't work.

CITY EXECUTIVES: But we can't do it.

CHORUS OF ENGINEERS: But—you will have to. We strike! (And strike they do.)

CITY EXECUTIVES: Yoi! Yoi! Sixty million dollars in public work, tied up. Call the City Council!

CITY COUNCIL (in all-night session): We can't do it! We must do it! We can't vote the \$75,000 increase demanded immediately. We can't finish the buildings without the engineers. What shall we do! (Signs of distress). We can't do it! We must do it! We will do it!

And do it they did. The engineers won their 30 per cent increase. Another strike was won! Take heed, ye other members of White Collary. Forget your snobbery and think of food and clothes and a little better life. Technical men everywhere can please note. Organize!

Vital Issues

THE CHALLENGE OF CONSOLIDATION

WE can all afford to smile when we hear the dashing Donovan of the Department of Justice warn the bankers that the Government may do something, if consolidations continue to go on. Even as he spoke Mr. L. F. Loree, President of the Delaware and Hudson, was completing the final strokes in the consolidation of three Southwestern railroads—the St. Louis-Southwestern, the Kansas City Southern, and the M. K. and T.

In the Transportation Act of 1920—popularly known as the Esch-Cummins Act—consolidation was made a part of our national economic policy. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act having proved a dud, despite the bellowings of Kenesaw Mountain Landis, we decided to turn about face and openly to aid and abet Monopoly.

Necessarily, the Attorney General and his assistant, Mr. Donovan, must try to camouflage their impotence.

Hence, the talk to the bankers, who understood the business very well.

Nor need any of the rest of us be worried by the merger upon merger, to which we are being treated. It will go on, no matter how much we may become excited. It will go on, until the American workers wake up to the fact that regulation is a snare and a delusion, and that public ownership of public services is the only answer to Monopoly. Consolidation is aiding that enlightenment, by bringing Big Business out into the open. Does not FORBES MAGAZINE of May 15th warn the utilities of that outcome? But even this magazine for "busy business men" is helpless in the economic whirlpool.

The job for the union workers is to put more vigor back of the Plumb Plan, Coal Nationalization and Public Ownership of Giant Power—to which they are committed.

CONTEMPT FOR COURTS

The Case of Judge Lazzelle

HE among the workers who takes our courts seriously, as tribunals of justice, is merely digging his own grave. That is a fundamental fact, in the struggle of the "lower classes" for their rights.

We are moved again to allude to this painful subject by the strange case of Judge I. Grant Lazzelle of Monongalia County, West Virginia. Coal operators in that state, led by the holy Rockefellers, have broken their written contracts with the miners' union. The company union has been presented, as a substitute. Thousands of men and women have been living in barracks, in their fight for the sanctity of contract.

What have the courts, those vessels of purity, said to them? Injunction after injunction has been hurled at the workers: so many of such "verbotens" that it is now impossible to keep track of them. The Mayor of Monongah is among those thus forbidden to discuss unionism. Van Bittner, the general organizer of the Miners, has been given a six-month sentence for the simple declaration that the union was in West Virginia to stay. This by Judge Lazzelle.

Now come the Miners, in May, into the courts of Monongalia County, and ask that the operators be enjoined from breaking their labor contracts. The Hon. Lazzelle is on the bench. The Hon. Lazzelle acting in a thorough, judge-like manner, speedily denies the injunction. "The time has not come," says he, rising in his lecherous dignity, "when a few men can sit down at a table and sell the labor of thousands without their consent, and compel them to go to work."

Thus speaks this second Daniel, sitting in high state

in his court at Fairmount. And even as he speaks he is clipping the coupons of the very companies in whose defense he acts. Judge Lazzelle, his two brothers and a sister, are receiving the small sum of \$60,000 a year in royalties from the Connellsville By-Products Co. and the Arkwright Coal Company, two of the defendants in the case.

The Miners ask that the worthy judge be impeached. We wish them godspeed in this enterprise. He should be branded as the he-harlot that he is. But his is but one of thousands of cases, evidencing the low morality of our judiciary. In order that the workers may be armed with the facts, we are shortly presenting a History of American Judges in these pages, including some who sit on the Supreme Bench at Washington. The collection will be known as THE SACRED COW, and will tear the mask of dignity from the faces of this most prostituted portion of our American fakers.

Contempt of court is supposed to be a most grievous offense. We hope that American workers, more and more, will be guilty of it. In an intelligent way, of course; in a way that will demonstrate the rottenness of the courts to a wider and wider group of the people. In the present state of affairs, the words of the courageous Thoreau to Emerson seem in order to all of us: "Why are you not in jail?" If all of us cannot be jailed for contempt, we can at least show our opinions and the facts on which they are based on every occasion—in the press, in the methods we use in our fight, in refusing to give up even when other Judge Lazzelles utter their decrees against us.

THE NEXT WAR

FOOD for thought is furnished by the explosion on July 11 of the U. S. naval arsenal at Lake Denmark, N. J. The cruel indifference of the military departments of the government, in storing such large amounts of destructive matter in populous communities, is not the only thing that should give us pause. What happened in Northern New Jersey is merely a miniature of what will be a daily occurrence on a bigger scale in the next international conflict.

Seven towns were destroyed and depopulated by this explosion. Thousands of persons were made homeless. The area around for miles was torn up by the ignited powder and shells.

To all this will be added the black curse of poison gas, hurled from the air by invading forces. How concerned we should be in all this! America is likely to be the Germany of the next conflict. The world is turning upon us with envy and hatred. "Of all the peoples in the world," says Edwin L. James in the *NEW YORK TIMES* of July 12, the Americans are now the least loved. . . . By degrees all civilized countries are being divided into two parts—the United States and the rest of them." It is Europe scowling at rich America, the present Master of their destinies.

And what will the next war be about? Oil! To preserve the sacred standing of the Standard at the head of the oil trusts of the earth. Mesopotamia is the battle ground—that land of the pre-war conflict over the Bagdad Railway. From Dr. Edward Mead Earle's book we quote:

"In 1901 a favorable report by a German technical commission on Mesopotamian petroleum resources stated that the region was a veritable 'lake of petroleum' of almost inexhaustible supply. It would be advisable, it was pointed out, to develop these oil fields if for no other purpose than to break the grip of the 'omnipotent Standard', which, in combination with Russian interests, might speedily monopolize the world's supply. Shortly afterward, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, a celebrated German publicist, visited the Mesopotamian valley and wrote that the district seemed to be virtually 'soaked with bitumen, naptha and gaseous hydrocarbons'. He was of the opinion that the oil resources of the region offered far greater opportunity for profitable development than that of the Russian Transcaucasian fields. In 1904 the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, promoters of the Bagdad Railway, obtained the privilege of making a thorough survey of the oilfields of the Tigris and

Euphrates valleys, with the option within one year of entering into a contract with the Ottoman Government for their exploitation. Shortly thereafter Real Admiral Chester of the United States Navy, became interested in the development of the oil industry in Asiatic Turkey." — *TURKEY, THE GREAT POWERS AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY*, New York: The Macmillan Company.

Since the War, America and Britain have been tilting over control of this region. Our State Department, at the behest of the Standard, lashed the Britishers bitterly in 1920. Through the Mosul treaty with the Turk, Britain now comes into possession of a goodly slice of this oil territory. France is fighting the Druses in Syria for another slice. Around it, and Russian oil, center much of the world's future history.

Economic Imperialism—whether of America, Britain or any other country—must have Militarism as its ally and servant. No generals were killed at Lake Denmark. Few generals are killed in war. They merely get the "glory" out of it.

Let this thought of G. Lowes Dickinson, the noted English scholar, sink in: "Whenever and wherever the anarchy of armed states exists, war does become inevitable". And further he says:

"Has anything (of the plotting and planning for war among nations) been altered by the War for Right? It hardly seems so. For the obligations of the League of Nations, under a covenant publicly signed by over fifty States, are at present held so lightly by certain States that they have formed, contrary to that covenant, secret military arrangements with other States, which they refuse to register, as the covenant requires." — *THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY*, New York: The Century Company.

Does it not seem time for workers over the world to join hands to smash this Militarism? Does it not seem that we should determine not to be killed for the Oil Mastery of the world? It is not without reason that the American Federation of Labor is fighting the latest attempt to Prussianize America, through universal conscription at any time at the will of the President. It is not without reason that the International Federation of Trade Unions has begun its "War against War".

Introduce the two books above mentioned to your unions. Based on documents, they give an insight into the rottenness of Imperialism and Militarism. Let us preach the gospel of Peace—not passively but aggressively. "No military training camps! No conscription!" must be our motto.

In Other Lands

THE WORLD—AT A GLANCE

Crumbling Europe crumbles on. Manna from Wall Street may attempt to "stabilize" it—for the benefit of Wall Street. But the political and economic masters of the little, aged continent prefer chaos and the Profit System to possible order and international socialization and workers' control.

The plight of Great Britain indicates that there is no other alternative at hand. On this side of the Atlantic, save for that small coterie of industrial and financial barons who are rapidly coming to control all Europe, there is no realization of the extent of Britain's industrial decline. At the recent annual meeting of the British Iron and Steel Institute, in London, the entire address of the president, Sir William Peter Rylands, was devoted to a consideration of the great strides that American and German steel had made over the British. "The commercial greatness of Great Britain was largely founded upon her production of coal and steel," he said—and these are slipping from her, with the advance of foreign processes and the coming of oil. In one year, 1925, the output of British coal fell 9 per cent and its export went down 15 per cent. So it goes with the electric industry, shipbuilding and other sources of power.

The value of the pound sterling—England's basic money unit—has been kept up, through Wall Street's assistance and the determination of the British to tax themselves. Taxation under the present economic system is for a nation what diet is for an athlete or fasting for a saint. It restores such spiritual and physical life as may yet be in it. France and Italy find themselves in financial hot water—the franc and lira going down to their lowest values in modern history, during the past month. Hungary has got a little above water, in the matter of national financing, through the supervision of Jeremiah Smith of Boston, Wall Street's agent. But its industrial life, like that of the other countries, refuses to come back.

Dictatorship having failed to fulfill its promises in Italy—as LABOR AGE predicted would be the case—Mussolini has now decreed an extra hour without pay for the workers to restore the "national wealth". Revolt has reared its head as a result, even the Fascist unions getting a bit out of hand—and the regulation is somewhat doubtful of being enforced, except in certain industries. The basic error of Mussolini was, that he thought he could reconstruct his country as a great capitalist empire, without coal, iron or any other natural resources on hand. The same applies to Spain, where all is not going well for Reaction, by any means.

While our American financial masters pleaded Italy's poverty as an excuse for giving its anti-democratic government better debt-settlement terms than any other country got, the dictator has turned around and made a loan to Roumania during the past month. Not a large sum, it is true, but enough to win that country's cooperation in Italian schemes. Through Roumania, Mussolini is now linked up with Poland and its dictator, Pilsudski. Step by step, the latter has become more Fascist in policy.

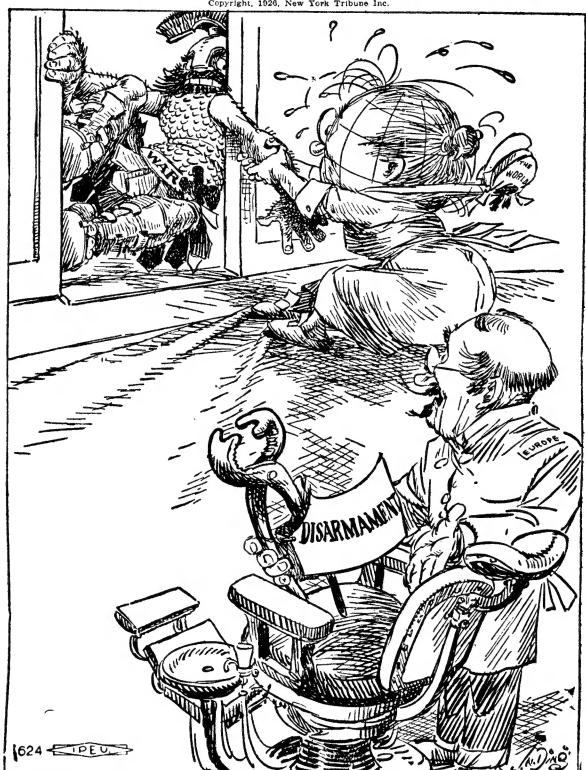
Now he has decreed that no parties of dissent shall be allowed to contest in the national elections.

America, taking Britain's place as the leader of Capitalism, has become as bitterly hated by the rest of the world as Germany was before the War. The march of the mutilated ex-veterans of France, in protest against the American-French debt terms, is but one indication of the feeling all over Europe. Should the present ill-will continue, we will gradually find ourselves in Germany's shoes. By a strange irony, the only thing that can stop a world coalition against this country will be the triumph of the workers in certain key governments—notably the British.

In the trade union field: the victory of the Japanese Federation of Labor, in securing a new law in June prohibiting night work for women, now seems to have been an empty one. The same law was passed in 1923, but was not enforced. Pressure by big manufacturers has already done much to nullify the new act—the plea being that Japan cannot compete with the other nations, particularly in textiles, if enforcement is carried out.

Australia's unions continue their record of successful militancy by defeating the employers in New South Wales on the 44 as against the 48 hour week. The wider aspects of this fight are discussed on the following page. Across the globe, the Balkan trade union conference has already had effect, in the decision of the Bulgarian unions

ABOUT AS FAR AS THEY EVER SEEM TO GET.



When a reactionary paper admits the failure of disarmament, it must be so! Geneva was such another failure

LABOR AGE

to join hands with the I. F. T. U. and in the beginning of a campaign for social legislation in those states.

While the British miners are standing firm against Baldwin's schemes to destroy their morale, the building trades unions are facing a possible contest with their employers. The wage agreement has expired, and the employers are making moves to cut wages. It is unlikely that they will go far with this—although the Northwestern Employers' Association—around Manchester—has threatened a lockout. An ugly situation arises in the mining fields, with the attempt of the owners to compel the "safety" or pump men to work the eight hours provided by Baldwin's bill. The men refuse to do this. The bringing in of strikebreakers to man the pumps would lead to a serious crisis.

The National Union of Railwaymen upheld J. H. Thomas in a vote of confidence, although they defeated him on a number of points dealing with policies.

Sweden's unions report a gain of 25,000 members in 1925, or an addition of 7 per cent. The third Socialist-Labor government of that country fell in June, when it refused to use the unemployed as strikebreakers. The small Liberal party, on which it relied to maintain a majority, said "thumbs down". Belgian workers felt the pinch of European decline still further, when 4,000 rail workers were released last month in the process of "stabilization".

More products of the "War for Democracy" are seen in the second dictator for Portugal, the decision of the Greek dictator to exile all troublesome labor leaders to the Aegean Islands, and the continued imprisonment of political prisoners in Hungary. Eighty members of the Socialist Labor Party have been arrested for that party's demonstrations against the franc forgeries. Thereupon all the prisoners of that party—which is affiliated with the Second (Socialist) International—went on hunger strike. So shell-shocked Europe stumbles on—probably to a most unexpected goal, the collapse of the pre-war Order.

QUEENSLAND'S VICTORY AND THE 44-HOUR WEEK

If Carlyle's prophecy—"The empire of old Mammon is everywhere breaking up"—is a bit slow in coming to pass, it is coming to pass, nevertheless. And the island continent across the Pacific, to which we Americans pay too little attention, is doing its share toward that end.

Here comes the State of Queensland, during the month of May, to give Labor its fifth straight political victory. For the first time in the history of Australia, a party has been able to retain control of its government for five times in succession. In 1915, Labor went into control of Queensland's destiny. In 1918, 1920, 1923, and 1926 it repeated. It retains the same majority it had in the last State Parliament, 43 to 29.

It is strange, as the AUSTRALIAN WORKER says, that the same voters who give Labor such a strong hold on Queensland refuse periodically to place it in full control of the Federal Government. The same thing occurs in the other Australian States, 3 out of the remaining 4 being in Labor's hands, with the Federal Government still in possession of the Tories. Conflict ensues: in a

critical phase now over the 44-hour week legislation. The Federal Arbitration Court holds for the 48-hour week, while the local State laws have put through the 44-hour week. In New South Wales the employers refused to recognize the state laws, and have locked out all employees insisting on the shorter work-week. The last lock-out was that of the members of the Cloakmakers' Union, all the big establishments dismissing their men. In Queensland most of the unions are not registered in the Federal Arbitration Court. In order to aid the employers, the present Tory Government proposes to make the Federal Court supreme. In which case, the careless voters who allow Tory Federal Governments may come to rue their indifference. We say this, feeling that American Labor's stand against any such court machinery, state or federal, as set up in Australia, is correct.

By way of postscript, it may be said that the Labor Party's claim to be returned to power was based on the following record: "Queensland. The highest wage state in Australia. The state with the shortest work-week. The state where the cost of living is cheapest. The only state that has dealt with unemployment problems in a statesmanlike way." The objective of the Party was stated to be: "The socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange". Apparently, the voters found that the record was satisfactory, and that the objective was their own.

THE COLOR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

APRIL saw two trade union congresses in South Africa. Both were held in Johannesburg. One was the South African Trades Union Congress, composed exclusively of white workers; the other, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, the organization of the blacks.

The latter was the largest assemblage, having 75 delegates, and claiming a membership of from 30,000 to 40,000. It was also the most vigorous in its statements and policies, due partly to the threat of the Color Bar bill and to the many injustices practised against the colored workers in the country. That these injustices exist and were to be fought was also the verdict of the white union workers. Their congress was composed of 40 delegates, representing between 20,000 and 30,000 unionists.

The Trade Union Congress refused to join any international, but expressed itself in favor of the British Movement's action in attempting to make peace between the Amsterdam International and the Red International. It likewise refrained from any political action. The black workers, on the other hand, set up a political bureau to keep them informed of developments.

Premier Hertzog's color bar bill went through Parliament, shortly after the sessions of these two bodies. It limits the industries into which the colored worker can enter. Although Hertzog's party is the Nationalist group, he is kept in power by the Labor Party, and that led to protests from some members of the Labor Party in Britain. The probable effect of the action will be a further solidification of the Negro workers back of their organization.

At the Library Table

WAGES AND THE FAMILY

A Challenge to Trade Unionists

IN the midst of the loud Hossanas on "high wages", rising up to high heaven from the well-oiled throats of the press agents of Big Business, it is refreshing to come across a volume such as that recently issued by the University of Chicago Press, from the pen of Prof. Paul H. Douglas.

Even though we may demur from some of its conclusions and recommendations, it states the issue clearly. Prof. Douglas is a man who has his eye out sympathetically for all sides of the wage problem. He quietly demolishes the whole sanctimonious structure of Garyism, Rockefellism, Hedleyism, et al.—based on the Hossana theory that Benevolent Employerdom has given us wages that should thrill us and fill us with eternal gratitude. He does not say that he plots and plans to do this—in fact, he says something entirely different. But his facts speak for themselves—making the present idea about high wages in this country look a sorry and emaciated thing indeed.

He says that great numbers of our workers do not get a living wage, based on the theoretical family of five. He says more than that: that they have little hope of getting such a living wage. There we must pause and think the thing out with him—to differ with his ideas in the end.

"Is Industry able," he asks, "to pay all adult workers enough to support a family of five?" For answer he goes to the studies of the National Bureau of Economic Research, an impartial body which is doing the tremendous job of inventorying our national wealth and national economic possibilities. From their figures for 1919, he deduces that the total money income from industry in that year was \$71,000,000. Of this, a total of \$58,000,000 or something less would have been required to pay the wage workers a living wage on the family-of-five basis—with a surplus of \$13,000,000 or something more for other items.

"It would seem," comments Douglas, "at first thought that such a surplus would be more than sufficient for all needs and that industry was abundantly able to pay all the male workers the wage that is customarily demanded for them. This, however, becomes distinctly doubtful when the other claims upon this surplus are considered."

These claims are land rent, interest and profits, together with the wages above the living standard enjoyed in certain highly unionized industries. Under the present system, these eat up the surplus and more. The suggestion made by Prof. Douglas therefore, is: That a minimum wage be established in the various American industries, by joint actions of workers and employers, based on what would be a living wage for a single man or for a married couple without children. That a family allowance system be further introduced, under which married men would be paid in accordance with the size of their families. Thus, "poverty would be abolished," "large families would be protected in a fashion impossible under any system of uniform minimum wages," "infant mortality among working class families might well be cut in half," and "parents

would be freed from the anguish of being unable to feed or care for their children properly."

As much as we would like to agree with this vision of what this system might bring to American workers, we cannot do so. It would make almost impossible the gigantic task of organizing the unorganized. It would introduce friction between married and unmarried men that the employers would seize upon, to their advantage and the workers' disadvantage. Happy as the picture at first might seem to be, it puts the worker—as long as the Employing Interests exist—in the role of a serf, 20th century fashion. While under the present system no other alternative may seem to present itself, so much the worse for the present system! It is time rather that we bestir ourselves more vigorously and with more thought and care to check the Profit System and overthrow it. It is time rather that unions make the elimination of waste, enforced by group action and accompanied by group gains, a vital part of their demands.

This is a thing, however, that we must now face out. Although we cannot agree with his proposal, we can be thankful to Prof. Douglas for having presented it so challengingly to us. This family allowance idea is already being considered by the anti-union employers. At least one concern—in Maine—has adopted it. We cannot merely sit around twiddling our thumbs and making faces at the proposal. We must get out and fight it with a program of our own.

This program is based on the wage idea endorsed by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. Workers must have their wages raised, this idea runs, in accordance with their increased productivity. On that basis, the workers at the Standard Oil Co. at Bayonne would be getting some two or three times, perhaps, what they are getting now. So, with other trades and industries. If this increased productivity wage means that rents, interest and profits must go—then go they must. That is the answer of freemen to the serf-condition to which the family allowance idea would again reduce workingmen.

Union men are not doing all they can to make this further attack on a just wage, impossible. They are not doing all they can to batter down the doors of company unionism, company welfare and company propaganda. If they did, all these plans would fall to the ground. Examination shows that they do not satisfy the workers. Examination shows that they are enforced by fear.

Shall we sit supinely by, while this family allowance, wage-cutting idea is foisted on us by a corps of social service workers? Prof. Douglas admits that it must be carried out by such a corps of professional slummers.

Discuss this book at your next local union or central body meeting. You will quickly come to the conclusion that it is high time to think less of Babe Ruth and to think more of a way to fight out your future battles. What are you doing about it? That's the question.

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